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THE  
D I V I N E R U L E  
OF  
FAITH AND PRACTICE.

Hæretici, quum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, . . . quia varie sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciant Traditionem. Non enim per litteras traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem.—IRENÆUS.

Φανερά ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἥ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπείσάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—BASIL.

Αὐτάρκεις εἰσιν αἱ ἅγιοι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.—ATHANASIUS.

I see not how you differ from that opinion which is THE GROUND OF ALL PAPISTRY, that is, *that all things necessary unto salvation are not EXPRESSED in the Scriptures* . . . There is nothing necessary to eternal life which is not both commanded and expressed in the Scripture. I count it expressed, when it is either in *manifest* words contained in Scripture, or thereof gathered by *necessary* collection.—ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

We of the Church of England affirm, that the Scriptures contain a COMPLETE RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE, and we reject *every doctrine and precept* as essential to salvation, or *to be obeyed as divine*, which is not supported by their authority.—BISHOP TOMLINE.

THE  
D I V I N E R U L E  
OF  
FAITH AND PRACTICE;

OR,

A DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE  
THAT HOLY SCRIPTURE HAS BEEN, SINCE THE TIMES OF THE APOSTLES,  
THE SOLE DIVINE RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE  
TO THE CHURCH :

AGAINST THE DANGEROUS ERRORS OF  
THE AUTHORS OF THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES  
AND THE ROMANISTS,

AS, PARTICULARLY, THAT THE RULE OF FAITH IS "MADE UP OF  
SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION TOGETHER;" ETC.

IN WHICH ALSO THE DOCTRINES OF  
*The Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c.*  
ARE FULLY DISCUSSED.

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THE  
DIVINE RULE

&c. &c.

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CHAPTER VI.

ON THE GROUNDS ON WHICH THE DOCTRINE RESTS THAT  
HOLY SCRIPTURE IS THE WORD OF GOD.

It is a remark continually in the mouth of our opponents and the Romanists, that if we do not allow the claim they set up for Patristical Tradition, we take away the foundation upon which rests the doctrine that Holy Scripture is the Word of God; for that upon the testimony of Patristical Tradition rests altogether the doctrine of the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

I hope to show, however, that this is very far from being the case; and that, however insufficient may be the testimony of the Patristical Tradition we possess to be a certain witness of the oral teaching of the Apostles, or to be considered a divine informant, the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture stands unmoved, and on a firm foundation.

This is the subject of the *fifth* of the positions we have noticed above (vol. i. p. 37.) as embodying the doctrine of our opponents on the question we are discussing; and to this point I think it desirable to direct the attention of the reader, before we proceed further, and shall accordingly devote this chapter to its consideration.

It will not, I trust, be denied, that a *saving* belief in the doctrine that Scripture is the Word of God, must be the work of

the Spirit of God upon the heart ; and that such a faith might be produced under that influence, even though the evidence for the inspiration of Scripture from human testimony or argument should be in itself insufficient ; and that such a faith is of the highest and most perfect kind, including all, and more than all, which can be produced by a faith wrought by the force of evidence alone ; and that any other faith, as long as it stands alone, is, in fact, useless.

Here, however, I cannot but remark, that when our opponents are speaking on such subjects, there is a remarkable and lamentable lack of reference (to use the mildest phrase) to the necessity of this spiritual influence in the hearts of individuals to produce true Christian faith.

For, as their favourite Archbishop Laud will tell them, it is " God's Spirit who *alone* works faith and belief of the Scriptures " and their divine authority, as well as other articles ;" our assent to this truth is " by the operation of God's Spirit." " The " credit of Scripture to be divine, resolves, finally, into that " faith which we have touching God himself, and in the same " order. For as that, so this hath three main grounds, to which " all other are reducible. The first is, the Tradition of the " Church ; and this leads us to a reverend persuasion of it. The " second is, the light of nature. . . . The third is, *the light of the " text itself, in conversing wherewith we meet with the Spirit of " God, inwardly inclining our hearts, and sealing the full assurance of the sufficiency* of all three unto us. *And then, and " not before, we are certain, that the Scripture is the Word of " God, both by divine, and by infallible proof ;"*<sup>1</sup> from which latter passage (and many similar and stronger occur in the context) we may see, how far the Archbishop was from the sentiments of our opponents on the point which forms the subject of this chapter.

True Christian faith, then, in the doctrine that Scripture is the Word of God, rests ultimately upon a testimony of a much better kind, than the witness of man can supply in any case.

To the question,—How shall we undoubtedly know the Scriptures to be the Word of God ?—" I answer," says Dr. Chaloner,

<sup>1</sup> Reply to Fisher, § 16. sub fin.—ed. 1686. p. 74.

“that we may know them to be so, partly by the light of the Word, that is, the divine notes and characters therein imprinted, and partly by the enlightening and persuading grace of God’s Spirit, enabling us to see, and moving us to believe what we see.”<sup>1</sup> And he remarks, — “The former, (which is the Word itself, and the notes thereof,) cannot be denied by an ingenuous Papist, to be there found; for howsoever some of them, *by a just judgment of God, for being injurious to the Scriptures, in branding them with obscurity, imperfection, &c., have been so blinded by the Prince of Darkness, that, (setting aside the judgment of the Church,) no reason to them hath appeared wherefore Æsop’s Fables should not as well as the Scriptures themselves be thought canonical, yet others, as Bellarmine, Greg. de Valentia, Gretser, &c., do knowledge these distinguishing notes to be in their kind argumentative, and to shine in them, as the excellency of the doctrine, concord, efficacy, and the like, whereby may be verified of the whole Book of God, what the officers sent by the Pharisees and Priests said of our Saviour, John vii. Never man spake like this man.* Nor is the latter (which is the inward testimony of the Spirit) denied, by the learned sort of Papists, to possess another chief place in the discovery of the Scriptures. For although in popular air they seem to vent the contrary, yet when they are called to give a more sober account in writing, they utter the same in effect which we do.”<sup>2</sup>

Whatever, then, may be the case, in this respect, with that which Patristical Tradition delivers to us, Scripture at least has a testimony to the fact of its being a revelation from God, far higher and more influential than any human witness.

And that more influential witness of the Spirit is, we may hope, enjoyed by every humble-minded inquirer after the truth. For if they who are evil, as our blessed Lord reminds us, know how to give good gifts unto their children, how much more shall our heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him! Nor will it be any cause for scepticism to a mind *thus*

<sup>1</sup> Credo Sanct. Eceles. Cathol.—ed. 1638. p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. pp. 98—100.

*taught*, if it should even happen, that the external and historical evidence for the divine origin of that Word which he venerates as the Word of God, is less strong than it might be.

How, indeed, is a conviction of the divine origin of Scripture to be produced otherwise in thousands who are unable to investigate the external and historical evidence? To those who know not what that evidence is, or are unable to appreciate it, it cannot be a sufficient foundation for faith. There is, indeed, an argument arising from the internal excellence of the revelation contained in the Scriptures, which can be appreciated by all, and is no doubt a weighty motive with all for their belief in Scripture as the word of God. But this is certainly the only part of the argumentative evidence for that truth, of which the poor and illiterate can become fully cognizant.

And shall we deprive Christianity of its greatest glory, as being the Dispensation of the Spirit, and leave the poor and illiterate either to grope their way among the records of Antiquity to find a solid foundation for their faith, or to pin their faith upon the affirmation of a few individuals, when Scripture offers such gracious promises of assistance to the sincere inquirer after the truth?

To make Patristical Tradition the only ground for belief in this truth, is equivalent to admitting, that nine-tenths of mankind have no sure foundation for their belief in it; for however valid that testimony may be, they neither know what it is, nor are able to appreciate its value.

Thus much, then, we have felt it necessary to premise on a point, which, alas! the Tractators seem altogether to have overlooked.

Let us proceed however to a consideration of their views on this subject.

To make the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture rest upon the testimony of the Fathers (as our opponents do), is equivalent to saying, that our belief in the divine origin of Scripture is founded on no better evidence than the belief of Mohammedans in the divine origin of the Koran. For the chief and vital point in this doctrine is, the divine origin of the



revelation contained in Scripture, for which the belief of any number of individuals is no sufficient foundation for faith.

Let us observe, that it is not a mere matter of fact which is here involved, not what could ever be the object of *knowledge* to any individual, but a doctrine which, in all cases, could only be an object of *faith*. Moreover, it is a doctrine standing upon a foundation peculiar to itself. For, even granting, that Patristical Tradition might be a safe medium for the conveyance of the oral teaching of the Apostles, the concession proves nothing for the validity of such Tradition, as a proof of the inspiration of the Apostles; for it is not the assertion of any number of individuals, or of the Apostles themselves, that can be any sufficient proof to us of their inspiration. And consequently, the notion that the inspiration of Scripture rests upon the testimony of Patristical Tradition, has even less foundation for it, than the supposition that we possess in that Tradition a sure report of the oral teaching of the Apostles. If the latter were granted, the former would not follow from it.

Nor does it help us, to take such Tradition as indicating that strict catholic consent which we may suppose from the promises of Christ to ensure freedom from error; for, supposing that we had such catholic consent, it could prove nothing in the point about which we are now inquiring, because its supposed authority rests upon the very truth in question. Catholic consent, to one who is yet unconvinced of this truth, is but the consent of a certain number of individuals; and he who says, that he believes the divine mission of our Lord and his Apostles on such a ground, does in effect say, that he believes the Christian religion because a certain number of persons believed it eighteen centuries ago, which would be as good a reason for believing any form of Paganism or Mohammedism.

This, therefore, is a truth, the proof of which extends over a much wider field than Patristical Tradition, and requires a much broader foundation than such Tradition can supply it with.

We may, indeed, be indebted to Patristical Tradition as one and a necessary witness of the *facts* upon which the *external evidence* for Scripture being the Word of God is founded, but no assertions of Christian writers that the New Testament is a divine revelation can be of *themselves* any more a sufficient proof

that so it is, than the assertions of Mohammedan writers that the Koran came from God.

As this is a matter of no little importance, let us consider it a little more carefully.

We are to believe this doctrine, say our opponents, on the testimony of Ecclesiastical Tradition. Nay, they tell us, that we cannot prove it but by such Tradition. Now, as we have already observed, our belief in Ecclesiastical Tradition is claimed on two accounts, first, on the ground of its being a faithful witness of what the Apostles delivered orally, and secondly, on the ground that the promises of God forbid the supposition that the whole Church should be in error on an important point.

Take, then, first, the case of an unbeliever, and suppose him to be told that he is bound to believe this truth on the evidence of Ecclesiastical Tradition. You, therefore, in effect tell him, that he is bound to believe this truth, because those of whose character and inspiration he is in doubt affirmed it, (which by the way he could learn as well from their writings as from Tradition,) and because in that very Book whose divine origin is in question it is promised, that Christians shall not universally err in such a point.

The absurdity of the attempt to prove the true character of our Lord and his Apostles, upon which the inspiration of the New Testament depends, from that Church-Tradition, whose value as a teacher in the doctrines of religion has no foundation but that character to rely upon, is transparent.

Hence, perhaps, it is, that the lovers of Tradition are so lukewarm (to say the least) as to the distribution of the Scriptures to unbelievers. For it must be admitted, that he who endeavours to teach men from the Scriptures, (which, blessed be God, is the great principle of Protestantism,) must be prepared to prove, that they are the word of God, upon grounds that include much more than the Church's testimony in their favour.

And here is observable the great difference between the mode of teaching men advocated by our opponents and the Romanists, and that which corresponds with the great principle of Protestantism. Our opponents anxiously urge upon us the doctrine, that we are to go to Patristical Tradition for what we teach

men, and that after we have so done, Scripture is to be resorted to as a parallel revelation to *confirm* us in the views derived from Tradition.

The Fathers, however, to whom they are so fond of appealing, certainly took a different course, for they appealed to the Scriptures as the great teacher of mankind, and urged upon unbelievers the various evidences upon which their claim to divine authority rests; herein manifestly dissenting from our opponents, and showing that they regarded those evidences as sufficient to prove that divine authority. The proof of this will be given hereafter.

The process of spiritual education, then, according to the notions of our opponents, is this,—The learner is to be taught by the representative of the Church the traditions of the Church upon the subject of religion, and then, when he has embraced the truths of Christianity upon the testimony of the Church, the Church delivers to him certain writings composed by those from whom she has originally derived the faith, and the learner, having beforehand become a believer in the truths revealed in those writings as from God, and a faithful disciple of the Church, receives those Scriptures as divine upon the testimony of the Church.

“When we say therefore,” our opponents may urge, “that “it is Church-Tradition by which alone we know that Scripture “is the word of God, we are speaking of those who have been “brought up in the bosom of the Church, or at least have been “instructed by her,” i. e. in short, they mean, (whether they proceed to so distinct an admission of the fact or not,) of believers, and consequently of those who already believe in the divine mission of our Lord and his Apostles, and therefore that the revelation we possess in the Scriptures came from God.

Now, there can be no doubt, that, in the very earliest times of the Christian Church, many did become acquainted with the revelation now contained in the Scriptures through the medium of that instruction which they received from ministers of the Church, who communicated to them the true unadulterated doctrine delivered by our Lord and his Apostles. But even they did not believe its divine origin on the sole ground of



Church-Tradition. Their belief was founded partly upon the internal evidence afforded by the power and excellence of the revelation, and partly upon those external testimonies, such as miracles, &c., which included much more than the teaching of the Church.

But, to assume, as is done in the reasoning of our opponents just alluded to, that the true and unadulterated doctrine delivered by our Lord and his Apostles has been perpetuated in the Church by Tradition to the present time, so that her pupils are instructed in that doctrine from Tradition and not from Scripture, is to assume one of the very points in dispute, viz. that Tradition is a safe medium for the conveyance of doctrinal matters. We deny the truth of this position, and maintain, that had the truth been left to Church-Tradition for its perpetuation, it would have required a miraculous interference on the part of God to have preserved it; and consequently, that where the teaching of the Church is agreeable to Scripture, it is to Scripture that we are indebted as the means of its preservation, and that where that teaching goes beyond Scripture, no claim can be justly made for it as inspired teaching, on account of the uncertainty of Tradition.

We deny, therefore, the truth of the assumption here made, that the Church, where she teaches the truth, teaches from Tradition. Church-Tradition has not preserved the truth. The Scriptures have preserved it, and the Church, through the Scriptures, has been enabled to retain it. We consequently deny the inference here drawn from that assumption, namely, that a belief in what Patristical Tradition teaches leads to an acknowledgment of the divine origin of the truths of Scripture.

And, in fact, the main question upon which the inspiration of Scripture depends, still recurs. For how, I would ask, was the pupil of the Church convinced, that the religion preached to him by the Church came from God? Not, certainly, from the mere fact that the Church delivered it. The chief and necessary mean for that conviction was the power of the Spirit of God impressing it upon his heart and conscience, and this, united with the internal evidence in its favour, is all of which nine-tenths of mankind would be capable. Have they not,



then, equal proof in every respect for the divine origin of the same religion when they meet with it in the pages of Scripture? Is the teaching of the Church so superior to the teaching of the Apostolical writings, that the Christian religion commends itself to the consciences of men more in the former than in the latter? The evidence which induces men to receive the orthodox teaching of the Church as a divine revelation, is the evidence upon which they believe the divine origin of the religion delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

How, indeed, were many of the heathen in early times brought to a knowledge and belief of the Christian religion by the first Christian Missionaries, if the internal testimony united with the work of the Holy Spirit on the heart is not sufficient to produce faith in it? And if that testimony is sufficient, then the witness of Scripture does not absolutely require the evidence of history to produce faith in the doctrine that its declarations are a divine revelation. For surely the testimony of the Apostles in the New Testament is as efficient a preacher as any uninspired man can be.

True, it may be objected, that even a proof of the divine origin of the truths delivered to us in the Scriptures, does not strictly prove, that those particular writings were indited by inspired authors; but, not to say, that under the circumstances of the case it goes a long way towards it, the great and only essential point is, whether the truths delivered in them are of divine origin, whether the authors of those revelations contained in them were inspired. In a word, the great point in the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures is, whether the religion delivered in them is from God. And though the proof of this will not demonstrate the inspiration of the Scriptures, it is the most necessary part of the evidence for the proof of that truth, and the only thing necessary for salvation.

The testimony, therefore, of the Church or Patristical Tradition falls at least far short of a proof of the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture.

But, although the moral internal evidence, united with the operations of the Spirit of God upon the heart, may be with the

generality the great and almost sole proof, and with all a necessary part of the proof, of the divine origin of the religion delivered to us in the Scriptures, and consequently of the inspiration of the Scriptures, yet no doubt there is also powerful *external evidence* to this truth; and, so far as concerns *the argument* for the inspiration of Scripture, this *external evidence* is a necessary part of the proof of the inspiration of these particular writings, and an important part of the proof of the divine origin of the revelation contained in them; though facts, I think, show us, that, in all cases, the *great* inducement to men to embrace the Christian faith as from God is the internal evidence of its divine origin derived from its moral excellence.

Now, this external evidence to the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture and to the question of the extent of the inspired writings rests upon certain *facts*, the knowledge of which must be conveyed to us by the testimony of others. Here, then, Patristical Tradition necessarily comes in as an important part of that testimony. But even here it forms only a part of the testimony.

And in order to bring the matter more fully and clearly before the reader, I will now proceed to consider the evidence we have, apart from the witness of the Spirit, to the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures, a question which of course includes that of their canonicity, genuineness, and uncorrupted preservation, as we shall see in the course of the inquiry.

I will take the case of the New Testament only, as that is the one more particularly concerned in this controversy; and the inspiration of the New Testament being proved, the inspiration of the Old Testament easily follows.

And, as a preliminary remark, I would observe, that if we can establish *the divine mission of our Lord, and the inspiration of his Apostles*, it follows, that their instructions on the subject of religion are to be considered as the Word of God.

I am quite aware, that this position will be disputed by some, who, in order to enhance the value of "Tradition," do not regard it as a sufficient proof that a book is inspired, that it

was written by an inspired Apostle, and therefore hold the necessity of "Tradition," for assuring us that these particular productions of the Apostles were inspired. But I would ask, how was the distinction made between their inspired and uninspired productions? By what authority did they who formed the canon of Scripture decide, that these productions only of the Apostles were inspired? Will it be said, that there were other writings of the Apostles on the subject of the Christian religion which were not inspired? or, was it not the sole question with the Church, when admitting books bearing the Apostles' names into the canon, whether they were genuine? All that the Apostles delivered on the subject of religion, being delivered by persons divinely inspired, may be considered as the Word of God; and all that the Primitive Church ever imagined to be necessary to prove respecting the writings of the Apostles, when determining the extent of the canon, was their genuineness.

Suppose a work not included in the canon could be proved to have been written by one of the Apostles after the day of Pentecost, would any man who fully believed that it was written by an inspired Apostle, venture to say, that he would not receive it, because the Apostle might not have been inspired in writing it?

This question, as it appears to me, is one of prime importance in this matter. For, if it be not admitted, that all that the Apostles wrote on the subject of religion was divinely inspired, then what evidence have we, that those particular productions of the Apostles included in the New Testament were inspired? We want, in that case, divine direction as to what productions of the Apostles were inspired, and what were not; and how is this to be obtained? The Romanists will reply,—From "Tradition" and the authority of the Church. But if by "Tradition" they mean the oral teaching of the Apostles, I reply, that we have not the slightest evidence that the Apostles ever did claim for those particular productions of theirs any greater authority than for the rest of their instructions; and that the internal testimony of their writings shows, that they entertained no such idea. It is quite true, that they spoke sometimes by permission, and not by commandment, and gave advice for which



they did not claim the direct sanction of the Holy Spirit ; but this is no proof, that they were not at all times guided by that Spirit when formally delivering the doctrines and precepts of Christianity.

Moreover, the language of the Fathers clearly shows, that they considered it to be only necessary to prove that a book or doctrine came from an Apostle, to prove its inspiration and authority ;<sup>1</sup> and that, when determining the canon of Scripture, the sole question with them was, what writings they possessed, composed by the Apostles, or at least under their immediate superintendence and sanction ; and, (as I shall prove hereafter,) that they regarded no books as of authority but those that were so composed.

And they who say, that such direction is to be obtained from the testimony or authority of the Church, claim for the Church a degree of inspiration greater than that they allow to the Apostles, for they can only attach certainty to the decision of the Church by supposing that the Church is permanently inspired to deliver the truth, while they allow not such permanent inspiration to the Apostles.

It may be a matter for consideration, *how far* that inspiration extended ; and we know from facts which they have themselves stated, that it did not ensure them infallibility in all respects and all matters ; but we are now considering them merely as instructors in the Christian religion. The common objection derived from the reproof given to Peter by Paul, is well disposed of by Tertullian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 24 and 25. See also ch. 38, where the canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews is evidently supposed to be proved, if there is reason to think, that it was written by St. Paul ; and particularly the language of Serapion (lib. vi. c. 12.) where, speaking of some writings falsely ascribed to Peter, he says, " we receive Peter and the rest of the Apostles as we would Christ, but we reject the writings falsely ascribed to them." And this clearly follows from the way in which the books that were to be received as of authority in the Christian Church are constantly mentioned by the early Christian writers ; who describe them as the Gospels and *the Epistles of the Apostles*, the Evangelical and *Apostolical* Scriptures. And so Jerome says of St. John, that he was " both an Apostle, an Evangelist, and a Prophet ; an Apostle in that he wrote to the churches as a master," &c. (Joannes et Apostolus et Evangelista et Propheta. Apostolus quia scripsit ad Ecclesias ut magister, &c. Hieron. Adv. Jovinian. lib. i. § 26. Op. tom. ii. col. 279, ed. Vall. Ven.)

<sup>2</sup> TERTULL. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. c. 3., and De Præscr. cc 23, 24.

Let our opponents observe, also, in what situation it places their favourite doctrine of "Tradition," if they say, that, to prove the inspiration of the Scriptures, it is not sufficient to prove the inspiration of their authors. For then, how are we assured, that that which the Church professes to derive by "Tradition" from the oral teaching of the Apostles was inspired? It is not sufficient evidence in this case for the authority of such tradition, even to suppose that it is an infallibly true report of what the Apostles delivered; but we must suppose, that there is *also* some evidence or authority somewhere to assure us, that those particular instructions of the Apostles, which Patristical Tradition is said to have handed down to us, were delivered by inspiration; and I would ask, where that evidence or authority can be found. There was certainly no claim made by the Primitive Church to distinguish between the doctrines or instructions delivered by the Apostles, so as to decide which was delivered by inspiration and which not. If the Apostles are not always safe guides in their *instructions on the subject of religion*, where are we to look for such guides? for I suspect, that most men will be disposed to think, that if the Apostles were not always to be trusted in their instructions, neither is the Church; for certainly, neither the promises made to the latter, nor its history, give stronger ground for confiding in it, than the promises made to the former, and their history, do for confiding in them.

As far, then, as concerns those books of the New Testament which we can prove to have been written by the Apostles, a proof of the divine mission of our Lord, and the inspiration of his Apostles, will equally prove, that the Scriptures of the Apostles are to be viewed as the word of God. And this I take to be the *only* way of proving the inspiration of *all* that they have delivered on the subject of religion; for it is evident, that the inspiration of each sentence could not be separately proved by any application of internal and external evidence, and can only be deduced from a proof of the inspiration of the author, that is, his being recognised as a teacher commissioned and empowered by God to instruct mankind in the true religion.

Besides the Scriptures of the Apostles, three books only, viz.

the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles by Luke, have been admitted into the canon of the New Testament. Their case we shall consider distinctly; our present inquiry relates only to the writings of the Apostles.

Now, the way in which the subject of our present inquiry may be considered as presenting itself to the mind is this. It is affirmed, that many ages ago there appeared on earth those who professed to be authorized by God to instruct mankind in the nature of the true religion. If then, their claim is a just one, we are bound to guide ourselves by their instructions.

Our first question, then, will surely be, What was their doctrine, what the nature of their instructions? The answer to this question we shall naturally seek more especially in those *writings* which have come down to us, attributed to them, and professing to give an account of their doctrine; and our first inquiry must necessarily be, Are those writings *genuine* and *incorrupt*?

It does not, of course, enter into my design here to point out at length the whole of the evidence on these and other points connected with our present inquiry, as such a discussion would be both out of place and unnecessary, after what has been already published on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and would require a volume to do any justice to it; but chiefly to point out the *character* of the evidence we have on these points, in order to show *where* and *how far* Church-Tradition comes in.

On what grounds, then, may we receive these writings as *genuine*, that is, as written by those whose names they bear?

We have, *first*, the evidence afforded by the writings themselves. It cannot be denied, that from the language, style, and general character of the contents of these writings, we have strong evidence in favour of their being genuine.

We have, *secondly*, the historical evidence.

And here we naturally look, first, to the testimony borne in their favour by the Christian writers, or, in other words, to

<sup>1</sup> See the works of Leslie, Addison, Jenkin, Stillingfleet, Lardner, Paley, and others, and especially Mr. Horne's very valuable "Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures."



Patristical Tradition. There has been a series of writers in the Christian Church from the earliest times, who have all acknowledged the genuineness of these writings; i. e. with some exceptions, to which we shall advert presently; and considering the way in which these writings have been handed down from one to another, this is a strong argument in their favour.

Here, however, let me caution the reader against a statement of Mr. Keble, that, as long as the canon of the New Testament was incomplete, the doctrinal "Tradition" existing in the Church of the oral teaching of the Apostles, was "divinely appointed in the Church as the *touchstone* of canonical Scripture itself." (p. 27.) This statement he attempts to prove by the admonition of St. Paul to the Galatians, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which *we* have preached unto *you*, let him be anathema," (Gal. i. 8.); and from 1 John ii. 7; 20, 21, 27; iv. 1; 3. 2 John 9. Here is another instance of what our opponents are so fond of, an assumption of the very point in question. The warnings given in these passages are against the *hearers of the Apostles themselves* believing anything contrary to the doctrine which they had been taught by *the Apostles themselves* in their oral teaching, the authority of which, of course, no one has ever denied. Therefore, says Mr. Keble, *Tradition*, i. e. the *report* of that teaching handed down from one to another, was "divinely appointed as the touchstone of canonical Scripture;" and adds to this extraordinary nonsequitur the following as extraordinary flourish about it. "This use of Apostolical Tradition may well "correct the *presumptuous irreverence* of disparaging the *Fathers*, "under plea of magnifying Scripture. Here is a *TRADITION* "so highly honoured by the Almighty Founder and Guide of "the Church, as to be made the *standard* and *rule* of his own "Divine Scriptures. *The very writings of the Apostles were to "be first tried by it before they could be incorporated into the "canon.* Thus, the Scriptures themselves, as it were, do homage "to the *Tradition* of the Apostles; the despisers, therefore, of "that *Tradition* [as if any one did despise the oral teaching of "the Apostles, and that the question was not merely whether "we have got that teaching or not] take part inadvertently or

"profanely with the despisers of the Scripture itself." (p. 28.) It is hardly necessary to point out, that these remarks are founded upon a mistake; namely, an identification of the real tradition or teaching of the Apostles themselves with the report of it by others.

And then, adds Mr. Keble, "on the other hand, it is no less evident, that Scripture, being once ascertained, became in *its* turn a test for everything claiming to be of Apostolical tradition." And so, Tradition having been in one generation the touchstone of Scripture, the obligation was returned in the next, by Scripture pointing out what was Apostolical Tradition; and thus they mutually assisted one another. But it would be worth knowing, why, if Tradition could be so depended upon in one generation as the touchstone for ascertaining what was Scripture, there should be any need in the next of Scripture to point out what was Tradition. This looks very much as if there was a lurking consciousness that, after all, Tradition stood upon a somewhat slippery footing.

But enough of such statements. How stands the case in reality? The writings of the Apostles were either given in person or sent by trusty messengers to the converts of the writers. In the latter case, (though it can hardly even then be said, that the oral teaching of the Apostles was "the touchstone" of such a writing,) no doubt, the writing would not have been received, if it had contained anything clearly contrary to the oral teaching of the Apostles. But there, at least, their office of judging ended, and the question of the genuineness of the writings was *set at rest and determined by those who were contemporary with the Apostles*, and had heard them preach, and were in fact their own converts. And it appears from 2 Thess. iii. 15, that St. Paul adopted a particular form of subscription to his epistles that might be a mark of their genuineness. "The salutation of me Paul," he says, "with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle, so I write." And the writings thus *admitted* and acknowledged as genuine, (and the *originals* of most, if not all of them, long preserved in the archives of the Apostolical churches,) were handed down from one to another, and hence found their way into the Universal



Church as writings of acknowledged authority.<sup>1</sup> And if, in after times, a question arose about any particular book or books professing to come from the Apostles, the inquiry was, Can it be traced up to the Apostles through the testimonies of those who have preceded us?<sup>2</sup> and a comparison was instituted between it and the *undoubted writings* of the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> If the book could be plainly traced up to an Apostle, there was an end of the question. If it could not be so traced up, even though it might not be contrary to Apostolical doctrine, its canonicity would be proportionably doubtful. And hence it was, that doubts were entertained by *some* in the Primitive Church as to the canonicity of some of those books which were afterwards admitted into the canon by, generally speaking, the Universal Church; admitted, evidently,—not by “the touchstone” of Tradition, for I suppose that Tradition was, at least, not more certain, or definite, or authoritative, at the close of the fourth century, (when the first canon of any General Council, giving a catalogue of the canonical books, was passed at Laodicea,<sup>4</sup>) than it was in the earlier periods of the Church, nor could a Council *make* that catholic consent to which alone authority is *ascribed*, where it did not *find* it, but—because it was generally considered, that the evidence for their genuineness was such as to entitle them to a place in the canon. And I must say, that the recollection of those early doubts (though unwarranted doubts) might have saved Luther from the opprobrium sometimes cast upon him by those who love to bark at the Reformers, for doubting at one time as to the canonicity of a book about which some in the Primitive Church also doubted. The notion, therefore, of any Father, or collection of Fathers, setting themselves up in the purer times of the Church to judge of the canonicity of writings professing to come from the Apostles by the touchstone of a doctrinal “*Tradition*,” is utterly unwarranted.

Now, to return to our subject, this testimony of Christian

<sup>1</sup> See TERTULL. De Præscr. c. 36; and Adv. Marc. iv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cc. 3 and 25.

<sup>3</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. iii. 25; and TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iv. 2. “Denique,” &c.

<sup>4</sup> This Catalogue included all that we receive but the Book of Revelation.

Antiquity to the genuineness of these writings is both important and necessary. Its absence, indeed, would be fatal. But is it all we have, or is it even alone sufficient? If the heretics, and the Jewish and heathen adversaries of Christianity had all from the beginning denied the genuineness of these books, would it have been a satisfactory state of things? We must inquire, then, what their testimony was, and we find a *still stronger* proof of the genuineness of these writings in the testimonies of the heretics and the Jewish and heathen adversaries of Christianity.

I do not mean to say, that *all* the *heretics* universally admitted the genuineness of all the books of the New Testament as we now have them, because some of them rejected some books, and others other books. But, taking them as a body, the argument derived from their testimony to the genuineness of Scripture, even in parts opposed to their notions, is a very strong one; and as such it was applied long ago by Irenæus,—“So great “certainty is there,” he says, “with regard to these Gospels, “that the very heretics themselves bear witness to them, and “every one of them endeavours to confirm his doctrine out of “them. For the Ebionites who use the Gospel of Matthew only, “are by that very Gospel refuted as in error respecting the Lord. “And Marcion, who mutilates the Gospel of Luke, is proved a “blasphemer against the one true God by those parts which are “retained by him. And they who separate Jesus from Christ, “and say that Christ did not suffer, but that Jesus suffered, pre- “ferring the Gospel of Mark, may be convinced of their error by “reading *that* with a love of the truth. And the Valentinians “using the Gospel of John entire in order to prove their conjunc- “tions, may be proved by it to be in error, as we have shown in “the first book. *Since therefore they who oppose us give their “testimony to these [i. e. the four Gospels] and use them, our “proof derived from them is firm and trustworthy.*”<sup>1</sup>

From this passage, then, it is evident, that even at that early period Irenæus considered, that Patristical Tradition was but a part of the proof for the genuineness, &c. of Scripture, and that an important part of it consisted in the testimony of those

<sup>1</sup> IREN. Adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. xi. ed. Mass. pp. 189, 190. (ed. Grab. p. 220.)

who might be considered more independent and impartial witnesses.

Moreover, that the testimony of the heretics as a body was in favour of Scripture as a whole, follows from the very complaint so frequently made by the Romanists and our opponents,—a complaint no doubt justified to some extent by fact, and supported by the Fathers,—that the heretics were in the habit of appealing to Scripture in support of their views.

We have next to inquire, whether these writings, as we now possess them, are in an *incorrupt state*.

Here, again, it is natural to observe, first, the care of the Church with regard to them. The early Christians would no doubt be exceedingly solicitous to preserve these writings incorrupt. The originals seem long to have been preserved with great care, not in the custody of any private individual, but among the archives of the churches; and copies were taken by persons of approved character and qualifications. Moreover, the earliest preachers of Christianity took great care to have copies dispersed everywhere and left with their converts.<sup>1</sup> And numerous translations were made in very early times,<sup>2</sup> some of which remain to this day.

But Church-Tradition, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with the matter. We want only fidelity and accuracy in *copying*, and handing down these writings themselves in an incorrupt state to the next age. It is obviously a very different thing to hand down to posterity certain written documents, and to hand down reports of oral teaching. Written records left in the keeping of a Bishop, and handed down by each to his successor, (as the Scriptures were in early times,) must surely be looked upon in a *very* different light from oral reports of what this or that former Bishop of the Diocese had preached.

And over and above this, we have *still stronger* testimony in favour of the incorrupt state of these writings in various other ways; viz. in the *number* and *antiquity* of the copies, and their

<sup>1</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. iii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> AUGUST. De doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 5. ed. Ben. tom. iii. p. 1. col. 21. CHRYS. in Joh. hom. ii. (al. 1.) ed. Ben. tom. viii. p. 10. THEODORET. De cur. Græc. affect. lib. v. ed. Schulze, tom. iv. pp. 839, 840.



being found *in all parts of the world*, all agreeing with each other in all essential points; in the *antient versions*; in the *similarity* of their contents to the accounts given of them by the earliest Fathers, and the *quotations* from them in those Fathers; and also in the testimony borne to them by the great body of the *heretics*, whose evidence tends to substantiate, some one part, some another, of the sacred volume; and lastly, in the quotations and references made *by the enemies of Christianity*.

But, notwithstanding we have all this evidence (of the strength of which we can form no idea without following it out into its details) in favour of the genuineness and incorrupt state of these writings, and that the question as to the preservation of written documents is *essentially* different from that which respects the preservation of oral teaching, Mr. Newman boldly tells us, that "whatever explanations the Protestant in question makes in behalf of the preservation of the written word, will be found applicable in the theory to the unwritten." (p. 46.) As well might it be said, that one who heard a report that had passed through a multitude of hands of a discourse orally delivered, was as likely to be accurately informed respecting it, as he who had had delivered to him, through the same number of hands, a written copy of the discourse actually delivered. Even were it true, that we depended solely on Patristical Tradition for the incorrupt state of the sacred books, that would not afford the slightest proof that such Tradition was to be depended upon for accurate information as to the oral teaching of the Apostles.

The argument is, as usual, taken from the Romish armoury. "They," says the Jesuit Fisher, "that can deliver by uniform tradition a false sense, why may they not also deliver a false text as received from the Apostles? an argument convincing and unanswerable." To which our learned Bishop White thus replies:—"The Jesuit imagineth that this argument is invincible. But let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off. . . . The argument reduced to form will discover its own weakness. 'If the text of the Scripture may as easily be corrupted as the sense, then all they which can deliver by uniform tradition a false sense may also deliver a false text. But the text of the Scripture may

“ as easily be corrupted as the sense. Ergo, all they which can  
 “ deliver by uniform tradition a false sense may also deliver a  
 “ false text.’ The assumption of this syllogism, which although  
 “ it were concealed by the Paralogist, yet it must be added to  
 “ make the argument perfect, is *apparently false*, and the con-  
 “ trary is true. The text of the Scripture cannot so easily be  
 “ corrupted as the sense, and therefore it is not necessary, that  
 “ they which, following human tradition or their own invention,  
 “ may deliver a false sense, shall likewise deliver a false text.  
 “ First, the text of the Scripture is contained in records and  
 “ books which are dispersed throughout the whole Christian  
 “ world, and preserved in all churches, and the copies and tran-  
 “ scripts of them are innumerable. . . . Secondly, when God  
 “ Almighty would have the knowledge and memory of things  
 “ to be perpetual, he commanded that they should be committed  
 “ to writing. Exod. xvii. 14, and xxxiv. 27. Deut. xxxi. 19.  
 “ . . . . . Thirdly, experience of all ages testifieth, that the text  
 “ of the Scripture hath been preserved inviolable even among  
 “ Jews and heretics. . . . Fourthly, whereas the Jesuit com-  
 “ pareth unanimous tradition of the sense of Scripture with  
 “ the written letter and text of the Scripture, *unless he*  
 “ *equivocate in the name, terming that tradition which is*  
 “ *collected from the Scripture*, such uniform tradition as he  
 “ boasteth of is very rare; for it must be such as in all ages  
 “ and in all orthodoxal churches hath been the same. Now  
 “ *the most undoubted and uniform* tradition of all other is con-  
 “ cerning the number and integrity of the books of Holy Scrip-  
 “ ture, and yet, *in this, difference hath been* between one church  
 “ and another, and the later Roman Church disagreeeth with  
 “ the antient.”<sup>1</sup> And so, elsewhere, he says, “ It is not neces-  
 “ sary, that they which truly deliver the text, shall also truly  
 “ deliver the Apostolical sense; and on the contrary, a lying  
 “ sense may be delivered by them which retain the true and  
 “ incorrupt letter of the text, as appeareth by the Pharisees,  
 “ Arians, Donatists, and many other heretics.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WHITE’S Reply to Jesuit Fisher’s Answer to certain questions, pp. 123—5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. pp. 120, 121. Bishop White is one of the divines of the “Anglo-Catholic Library.”

And so Augustine points out, in a passage already quoted, on what a different ground the Holy Scriptures stand in this respect from any other writings, and consequently from the sources whence our opponents' traditive statements and interpretations are derived; the writings of no bishop, however illustrious, being capable of being preserved as the canonical Scripture is preserved, on account of the number of languages in which it is found, and its being constantly rehearsed in the Church, which rendered any attempt at corruption or forgery useless.<sup>1</sup>

And in another passage he distinctly places the evidence we derive from the testimony of the Church for the genuineness and incorrupted preservation of the Sacred Books on the same footing, as to its character, with that on which we receive the works of Plato, Aristotle, and others, as genuine and incorrupt.<sup>2</sup>

It may be well to inquire in the next place, what evidence we have that these writings are *authentic*; that is, that the facts related in them, really took place. A consideration of this evidence will lead the mind more easily to the great point which we have to consider afterwards, the great truth sought to be established.

We have, then, for this truth, first, the internal evidence of these writings themselves. The facts related are not such as men are likely to have feigned; they are frequently injurious to the character of the writers; there was no reasonable motive for such a fiction, for it led the authors only into temporal calamities and death; and many similar weighty considerations conspire to show the truth of the facts stated.

We have next the external or historical evidence. First, that derived from the Church. But this is not Church-Tradition, but merely the *fact* of the belief of the accounts given in these books by so many, at a time, when, if the events recorded in them had not been true, they would have obtained no credit. Secondly, that derived from the witness of heretics, and also from the numerous and direct testimonies afforded by the Jews and heathens, the enemies of Christianity, that the chief events here recorded did really happen.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 195 of this work.

<sup>2</sup> AUGUST. Contra Faust. lib. 33. c. 6. Op. tom. viii. col. 466, 467.



To these evidences may be added further those considerations which show us the *credibility* of the statements of Scripture ; such, for instance, as prove the credibility of miracles, remove apparent contradictions, and show that there is nothing in these writings *contrary* to reason ; none of which, however, as is evident, can be derived at all from Church-Tradition.

In all these preliminary points, then, there is one only in which Patristical Tradition, properly speaking, can aid us ; and that is, on the question of the genuineness of the Scriptures ; and there, though important and necessary as *part* of the proof, we have other and still more unexceptionable testimony.

Supposing, then, that the Scriptures we possess are *genuine, incorrupt, authentic, and credible*, we have next to inquire, what evidence we have, that they may be reckoned the word of God ; which, as we have already observed, is tantamount to the inquiry, what evidence we have of the divine mission of our Lord, and the inspiration of his Apostles ; or at least a proof of the latter will equally demonstrate the former.

Let us begin with the divine mission of our blessed Lord.

Now, to go to Church-Tradition for any *direct* proof of this, or of the inspiration of the Apostles, is obviously absurd ; for, if there were no foundation for these truths, any, even the highest, degree of Catholic Consent would have no real weight ; for all the value that can be *ascribed* to it in a matter of this kind, rests upon the supposition that these are truths. The only weight, therefore, which Church-Tradition can have in these points, is from its being the representation of the opinion of a vast number of individuals, who, from the time of the appearance of our Lord to this, have held that these are truths ; which may reasonably be an *introductory* motive<sup>1</sup> to belief in them, rendering their truth in some degree *probable*, but nothing more ; for the same evidence is afforded to Mohammedism and Paganism.

The truth we are now seeking to establish, rests upon two sorts of evidence, *external* and *internal*.

The *external* consists chiefly of the evidence derived from the four following sources.

<sup>1</sup> See LATD'S Conf. with Fisher, and STILLINGFLEET'S Grounds &c. pp. 187, 8.

(1) The voice from heaven at our Lord's baptism, and at his transfiguration.

(2) The miracles he wrought; especially as connected with the character of his doctrine.

(3) The prophecies of the Old Testament fulfilled in him, and his own recorded in the New Testament.

(4) The power and success of the Gospel, notwithstanding its opposition to the feelings and desires of the natural mind.

To enlarge upon these points, and show the *demonstrative* nature of the proof derived from them, is not now our object. It has been done over and over again, far more ably than we could hope to do it. But we have to point out, upon what *testimony* this external evidence rests, and to show, how little Church-Tradition has to do with it.

For the *first*, then, we have the testimony of the Apostles in their writings, (already shown to be *genuine* and *authentic*,) recognised by Celsus, the great enemy of Christianity. This affords at least some *probable* evidence of the divine mission of our Lord.

For the *second*, that is, our Lord's miracles, we have the testimony, not only of the Apostles, but what is more, of his great *enemies*, the Jews; and that, not merely as recorded by the Apostles, but by *their own writers*, and also of heathen writers.

For the *third*, we have for the existence of the prophecies fulfilled in him, long previous to his incarnation, the irrefutable evidence of the books of the Old Testament, then and still in the keeping of his great enemies, the Jews; and for those uttered by him, the testimony (already proved to be authentic) of his Apostles, and for their fulfilment as regards the Jews, the universally-received attestations of history, as well as the evidence of their present state.

For the *fourth*, we have the testimony, both of friends and enemies, and of our own senses.

The reader may at once see, then, how far we have to depend upon Church-Tradition for this evidence.

The *internal* evidence is derived from the excellent nature and effects of the doctrine which our Lord taught. The appeal here is to the hearts and consciences of mankind; and however those



who have been accustomed from infancy to enjoy its light, may slight the evidence which its moral excellence affords of its divine origin, it was looked upon at its advent, by those who could appreciate it, in a very different light. By the early teachers of Christianity, this was the great evidence put forward in proof of its divine origin; an evidence, of which time cannot weaken the force, and which, as it appears to me, still remains the most powerful inducement to men to embrace the Christian faith, the most convincing argument of its divine origin. It is quite true, that the prepossessions of the natural mind may often lead it into error, when so judging; but that is due, not to the character of the evidence from which the judgment is formed, but to the corruption of our fallen nature. It is no more a proof that Christianity does not show its origin by the internal evidence it carries with it, than heretical misallegations of Scripture show, that Scripture does not bear a clear testimony in favour of the orthodox faith.

There is one observation, however, I would make respecting it; and that is, that it appears to me to be applicable only in proof of the divine mission of the *Founder* of our religion; because that religion, when once introduced, might be preached by many who were entirely destitute both of inspiration and divine commission to do so. The evidence of the internal witness of Scripture to its divine inspiration, is, I conceive, of this kind; viz., that the revelation made, taken as a whole, is so excellent in its nature and effects, as to bear a powerful witness to its divine origin, and consequently to the divine mission of Him who first delivered it to mankind; not that the internal evidence can be a sure criterion as to any particular book to establish its inspiration; though it may, in some cases, be sufficient to negative it.

Thus, then, do we establish the divine mission of our Lord; and consequently the truth, that what he delivered was the word of God.

But then it becomes necessary to inquire, what were the qualifications of those who have *delivered* his doctrine to us. Though we may suppose, that they were honest and faithful narrators of events, have we any assurance, that they were pre-

served from error in delivering that doctrine to us, and still more in enlarging upon, and explaining, and adding to that doctrine? If, indeed, we agreed with the Romanists and our opponents, that fallible men could convey to us a "practically infallible" report of doctrinal truths, we need not, as far as our Lord's teaching was concerned, have made any further inquiry; but (and I shall leave to our opponents to give the reason) it certainly appears, that even as to this, we have not been left to the teaching of mere fallible men.

We have proof, that *the Apostles were inspired*; and this fact, which may be proved by their miracles connected with the character of their teaching, may show, that when we assumed in the proof of the divine mission of our Lord that their writings were *authentic*, we had not merely the proof of it already given, but a stronger in their inspiration.

Assuming, however, that the evidence adduced on the former points has been conclusive, we ground the doctrine of their inspiration on the following evidence:—

(1) The promises of our Lord.

(2) The affirmations of the Apostles in their writings.

(3) The miracles they wrought, especially as connected with the character of the doctrine they preached, showing that they were to be depended upon.

(4) The prophecies they delivered.

In the *first* of these I refer to such promises as that recorded in John xvi. 13, that the Spirit should guide them into all truth. (See also John xx. 21, 22.) In the *second*, to such declarations as that of St. Paul, when he says to the Thessalonians, "When ye received the word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it, not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh, also, in you that believe;" (1 Thess. ii. 13;) and those of St. Peter, where he says to the Christians of his day, that the Gospel had been preached unto them with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, (1 Pet. i. 12,) and exhorts them to be "mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us, the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour," (2 Pet. iii. 2,) and ranks St. Paul's writings with the "other Scrip-

tures;" (2 Pet. iii. 16;) and generally to the tone of authority in which they speak, as infallible expositors of the doctrines of Christianity.

To give weight to the evidence derived from these two sources, we must, of course, assume the divine mission of our Lord, and also that the Apostles were not impostors; for which we must refer back to the proof of the authenticity of their writings; or we may ground it upon that which we have now to notice as—

The *third*, and an independent and still stronger testimony to their character, viz., the *miracles* they wrought, especially when we consider the nature of the doctrine they preached. These may not perhaps be a *direct* proof of the inspiration of all which they delivered on the subject of religion, but they certainly show their true character, and are a divine attestation to the truth of their claim to be considered divinely-appointed teachers of mankind. By these God *bare witness* to them. (Heb. ii. 4.)

Now, the testimony upon which we believe these miracles to have been wrought, is derived—*first*, from the account left us *in writing* by one of the followers of the Apostles; I mean the book of the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke, of which the genuineness, authenticity, &c. may be established, as in the case of the Apostolical Scriptures; and *secondly*, from the admissions of *Jews* and *heathens*, who were compelled to resort to the charge of magical practices against them, to account for the miracles they performed.

The *fourth* ground is that afforded us by the prophetic spirit vouchsafed to them, the evidence of which we see, not only in the Scriptures, but in events confessedly subsequent to their times.

On these grounds, then, we believe, that the Apostles were inspired, and being thus divinely preserved from error, and instructed in the truth, were both infallible witnesses of the doctrine taught by our Lord, and infallible instructors of mankind in religion.

We thus establish, then, the truth in question, viz. the divine mission of our Lord, and the inspiration of his Apostles, and consequently that the Scriptures of the Apostles are the word



of God. And whenever a strict proof of this truth is sought, it must be of this kind and nature. And, as is evident, the sole use of Church-Tradition in it, is, to bear witness to us, who live at a considerable distance of time from the period in which Christianity was first promulgated, of certain *facts* cognizable by the senses of mankind, matters which *in the first instance* were not objects of *faith* but of *knowledge*, not revelations of doctrine, in which fallible men are so likely to make mistakes, but facts such as neither friend nor foe, if honest, could make any mistake about; and further, the tradition of the Church is only a part, and not the strongest part, of the proof of those facts and events having taken place.

There now remains, then, for consideration, the case of those three books, the authors of which were not Apostles, viz. the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles by Luke.<sup>1</sup>

And here I wish to draw attention to a fact which appears to me to have almost, if not quite, escaped observation, but which the general language of the Fathers on the subject, and particularly a passage of Tertullian, seem clearly to prove, namely, that the rule by which the canon of the New Testament was formed, was this, that such works only should be admitted into it as were either written by Apostles or directly commended to the Church by Apostles for its guidance and instruction. The passage of Tertullian to which I allude, is one in his 4th book against Marcion, where, being about to prove that the Gospel received by Marcion was spurious and of no authority, he says, "We lay it down in the first place, that the volume containing  
" the authoritative records of the Gospel, (*evangelicum instru-*  
" *mentum*,) has the Apostles for its authors, upon whom this  
" office of publishing the Gospel was imposed by our Lord  
" himself; if, besides these, it admits *Apostolical* writers, it  
" admits not such in their own character alone, but as associated  
" with the Apostles, and as inferior to the Apostles, since the  
" preaching of the disciples might be suspected of being in-

<sup>1</sup> If the Epistle to the Hebrews is not allowed to be St. Paul's, (though there is, as appears to me, satisfactory evidence that it is,) it must be added to the above.

“fluenced by the desire of glory, if *the authority of the masters should not be affixed to it*, or rather the authority of Christ which made the Apostles masters. In fine, John and Matthew of the Apostles instil the faith into us, Luke and Mark of apostolical men renew the faith already imparted,” &c.<sup>1</sup> And further on he adds,—“If the teacher himself of Luke, [i. e. St. Paul,] sought the authority of those that were Apostles before him, both for his faith and preaching, [alluding to St. Paul’s going up to Jerusalem soon after his conversion to see the Apostles,] *how much more should I require that authority for the Gospel of Luke which was necessary for the Gospel of his Master?*”<sup>2</sup> Nothing, I think, can be more clear, than that these passages fully show, that, in the opinion of Tertullian, nothing was to be received into the canon of the New Testament, but that which had an Apostle for its author, or had received direct Apostolical sanction. And this is very much confirmed by what Jerome says in the passage quoted from him p. 12 above; that John was “an Apostle, inasmuch as he wrote Epistles to the churches as a master.”

The fancy, therefore, of some persons, that the Primitive Church, that is, a certain number of its rulers, took upon themselves to decide, whether this man or that, this work or that, was inspired, has no place but in their own imaginations.

Such was the principle, then, upon which the Primitive Church acted in forming the canon; and accordingly we find in the Fathers a recognition of this principle, in their having taken care to inform us, that these books received Apostolical sanction.

Thus, of St. Mark’s Gospel it is said by Tertullian, that it may be considered as Peter’s, (*Petri adfirmetur*,) whose interpreter

<sup>1</sup> *Constituimus in primis, Evangelicum Instrumentum Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus Evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum. Si et Apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum Apostolis et post Apostolos. Quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriæ studio, si non adesset illi auctoritas magistrorum, immo Christi, qui magistros Apostolos fecit. Denique nobis fidem ex Apostolis Johannes et Mattheus insinuant, ex Apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant.* TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iv. 2. Op. ed. 1664. p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> *Igitur si ipse illuminator Lucæ auctoritatem antecessorum et fidei et prædicationi suæ optavit, quanto magis eam Evangelio Lucæ expostulem, quæ Evangelio magistri ejus fuit necessaria?* ID. ib.



Mark was;<sup>1</sup> by Eusebius, that the hearers of Peter, at Rome, “earnestly entreated Mark, Peter’s follower, whose Gospel is extant at this day, that he would leave with them some written record of that doctrine they had heard; neither did they desist till they had prevailed with the man; and thus they gave the occasion of writing that Gospel which is called the Gospel according to Mark. When the Apostle Peter understood by the revelation of the Holy Spirit what was done, he was much delighted with the ardent desire of the men, and *confirmed that writing by his authority, that so thenceforward it should be read in the churches;*”<sup>2</sup> which account Eusebius gives from Clement of Alexandria, and says that Papias had borne the same testimony.<sup>3</sup> The same thing is stated by Origen,<sup>4</sup> Jerome, the author of the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Nicephorus, and Eutychius of Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> And there is a passage in the Second Epistle of Peter, which seems strongly to indicate an intention of leaving behind him some written record of the gospel he had preached, where he says, “I will endeavour, that ye may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance.” (2 Pet. i. 15.)

Of St. Luke’s Gospel it is said by Tertullian, that it was “customarily ascribed to Paul;”<sup>6</sup> and in the passage quoted above, that it owed its authority to Apostolical sanction; and by Origen it is called “the Gospel commended by Paul;”<sup>7</sup> and by Eusebius it is said, “They say also, that Paul was wont to mean the Gospel according to Luke, when, speaking as it were of his own Gospel, he says, ‘According to my Gospel;’”<sup>8</sup> and by Nicephorus, that it was published by the direction of Paul, and by the author of the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, that it was dictated by Paul.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> TERTULL. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. c. 5. p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. ult., and lib. vi. c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. vi. 25.

<sup>5</sup> See these testimonies in Lardner’s Suppl. to his Credibility. Works, vol. v. pp. 332 et seq.

<sup>6</sup> Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent. TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iv. 5. p. 416.

<sup>7</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. vi. 25.

<sup>8</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. iii. 4.

<sup>9</sup> See LARDNER as above, pp. 352, et seq. And see IREN. lib. iii. c. 14.

Of both these Gospels, also, it is said by Eusebius, that they, together with that by St. Matthew, were shown to St. John, who "approved of them, and confirmed the truth thereof by his own testimony."<sup>1</sup>

The Gospel of St. Luke particularly needs some such testimony to it to give it authority, as St. Luke himself only professes (as it appears to me) to give the accounts that had been furnished him by others who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the Acts of the Apostles, we have not the same *express* testimony to its having received Apostolical sanction, excepting in the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, where it is said to have been dictated by Peter;<sup>3</sup> and as it seems probable, that both his Gospel and the Acts were written nearly about the same time, and while Paul was at Rome, (whose companion and disciple more especially Luke was,) it is not improbable, that the former part of the Book of the Acts might be Peter's dictation, though not the latter, which relates to scenes witnessed, not by Peter, but by Paul and Luke himself. The principle, however, being established by the passage of Tertullian above quoted, that the works of Apostolical men needed the sanction of an Apostle to establish their canonicity, it is not absolutely necessary for us to have direct testimony to the fact, knowing the principle upon which the Primitive Church went in recognising its canonicity.

And still further, we have in St. Augustine a very clear though indirect testimony, that such was the ground upon which all these three books, the Acts included, were admitted into the Canon. For, speaking of the Gospel of St. Luke, he says,—“But he [Luke] has not only brought down his narrative “to the resurrection and ascension of the Lord, so as to have a “place worthy his labour among the four authors of the Evangelical Scripture, but also afterwards so wrote the things that “were done by the Apostles,—those things, that is, which he considered to be sufficient for establishing the faith of those who

<sup>1</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. iii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Luke i. 1—3.

<sup>3</sup> Synops. Script. Sacr. n. 76. ATHAN. Op. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 202.

“ read or heard them,—that his book alone was considered trustworthy in the Church, in its account of the acts of the Apostles, all those being rejected who dared to give an unfaithful account of the acts and sayings of the Apostles. *Because* (quippe) Mark and Luke wrote at a time at which they could be sanctioned, not only by the Church of Christ, but also *by the Apostles themselves yet remaining in the flesh.*”<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, being the principle upon which the canonicity of these books was admitted by the Primitive Church, we, admitting that principle, have only to inquire, whether we have sufficient testimony to induce us to believe, that the Apostles did commend them to the Church for its guidance and instruction; and for this we have the fact of their admission into the canon by the Universal Church from the earliest times, as books that had received that sanction, (for this, as we have shown, was considered necessary for such admission,) united with the direct testimony borne to their having received that sanction by many of the Fathers of the Church. And *after* we have received the writings of the Apostles as inspired, I know no reason why we should hesitate to admit this testimony as sufficient—seeing the congruity of their statements with the revelation we have already admitted—to entitle them to a place in the canon; for all that we want to know, is, the *fact* that they received Apostolical sanction.

If our opponents tell us, that we are not able to judge of their statements but by “Tradition,” I would remind them of the way in which Tertullian proved, in his controversy with Marcion, the uncorrupted preservation of his copy of St. Luke’s Gospel. “If,” saith he, “the Apostolical Gospels have come down to us uncorrupted, and our copy of Luke’s Gospel has such *congruency with their rule* as to remain with them in the churches, then it is clear, that Luke’s Gospel has come down to us uncorrupted until Marcion’s sacrilege.”<sup>2</sup> If this argu-

<sup>1</sup> Iste autem non solum, &c. . . . Eo quippe tempore scripserunt Marcus et Lucas, quo non solum ab Ecclesia Christi, verum etiam ab ipsis adhuc in carne manentibus Apostolis probari potuerunt. AUGUST. De consens. Evangelist. lib. iv. c. 8. Op. tom. iii. P. 2. p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Si enim Apostolica integra decurrerunt [decucurrerunt], Lucæ autem quod est secundum nos adeo congruit regulæ eorum, ut cum illis apud ecclesias maneat,



ment is valid, then it neither was, nor is, necessary to go to Tradition to judge of the internal evidence of these books, (which Mr. Keble would fain persuade us was the great test in the admission of books into the canon); but a comparison of them with the Apostolical, will show a *congruency with their rule*, and this is all that the internal evidence can do with respect to such books.

If asked, then, upon what grounds I receive any one of the *Apostolical* books of the New Testament as inspired, (for we must, of course, begin with those written by the Apostles,) I reply, My first inquiry is as to the genuineness and uncorrupted preservation of the book. The next is as to the character of the author. Finding him to be one of the Apostles of our Lord, I inquire what evidence I have as to the divine mission of our Lord, and having established on internal and external evidence (as before stated) the character of our Lord and his Apostles, I conclude in favour of the inspiration of the book. And this method will answer for all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles.

There are, indeed, as we have already intimated, some books of the New Testament, for the genuineness of which the testimony of the Primitive Church was not consentient. Consequently, as far as Patristical testimony goes, there is an uncertainty in the case. And hence, I suppose, it is undeniable, that he who firmly believes those books to be part of the canon, must have some better foundation for his belief than Patristical testimony, or the voice of the Church. And there is nothing, perhaps, which more strongly shows the inconsistencies to which Romish views on these matters lead, than the fact, that while the Romish Church of the present day maintains the canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews as the infallible witness of Church-Tradition, and tells us, that from Church-Tradition only can we learn the canon, it is a historical fact, that in the fourth century this infallible witness of Church-Tradition maintained that it was *not* canonical.

jam et Lucæ constat integrum decucurrisse usque ad sacrilegium Marcionis. TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iv. 5. p. 416.



And here I would ask our opponents, upon what evidence *they* receive these books. If they say, Upon Patristical Tradition, they contradict their own tenet, that catholic consent alone is a sufficient foundation for faith, and pin their faith upon the declarations of that *portion* of the Catholic Church whose determinations please them. If they admit the insufficiency of Patristical Tradition in proof of the canonicity of these books, they overturn the position against which we are here contending.

With respect to the three books not written by Apostles, I would remark, that for the two former we have the internal testimony, (to be judged of by its congruency with the writings of the Apostles already admitted as inspired)—which is not, however, I grant, a sufficient proof after the introduction of Christianity,—united with the direct and express testimony of the Fathers, that they were sanctioned and recommended by Apostles, and the unanimous testimony (as far as it is ascertainable) of the early Church in their favour, manifestly grounded on their having received Apostolical sanction. With respect to the third, viz., the Acts of the Apostles, we have the internal testimony (to be judged of as before) united with the unanimous testimony of the early Church in its favour, grounded manifestly on the supposition of its having received such sanction.

With respect also to those books that are rejected, the question may be at once determined historically. For instance, as to the pretended Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, the case is clear. There is no sufficient proof of its genuineness. And the writings of those who were not Apostles have, of course, no pretence, in themselves, to a place in the Canon, and therefore need not be considered.

Hence, when Mr. Newman tells us, “We include the second Epistle of St. Peter, we leave out St. Clement’s Epistle to the Corinthians, *simply because* the Church Catholic has done so,” (p. 341, 2,) he might as well say, that we leave out the Epistles of Ignatius, or the works of Irenæus, or anybody else, “*simply because*” the Fathers have done so. We neither put in, nor leave out, “*simply because*” the Fathers have done so; for I would ask, whether, supposing that they had said, “We grant that Clement’s Epistle never received Apostolical sanction,

“but we reckon it among the inspired books,” that would have been a sufficient reason for putting it into the Canon. If not, it is not “*simply because*” the Fathers admitted one and rejected the other, that we do the same. We look to the grounds of their judgment.

Such, then, is the evidence for the genuineness, uncorrupted preservation, inspiration, and consequent canonicity of the New Testament Scriptures. A brief sketch of its leading features has been all that our limits in this place have allowed us to give. But the more it is expanded into its details, the more complete and convincing will it be found to be. And of this evidence the Tradition of the Church is but one part; and in the most important part of the question, namely, the divine origin of the revelation contained in the Scriptures, it is a part of the evidence wholly insufficient by itself to constitute a proof. The utmost which it could do, is, to certify us of the genuineness and incorrupt preservation of those writings.

Further; were we even to admit, that the Patristical Tradition we possess is by itself sufficient to assure us of the genuineness and incorrupt preservation of the writings of the New Testament, (a question which it is unnecessary to enter into, because we have other evidence on the point,) it would by no means follow, that it was a sufficient and certain witness of the oral teaching of the Apostles so as to be a divine informant. For it is a totally different thing to hand down certain books as written or sanctioned by the Apostles, and to give a correct report of their oral teaching, whether concerning doctrines or rites. In the case of doctrines more especially, it is evident, that testimony which might be very sufficient to establish the genuineness of the Scriptures, might be very insufficient to establish the genuineness of doctrinal statements professing to come from the oral teaching of the Apostles. I may believe fully the genuineness of a work, upon evidence which would be wholly insufficient to establish the certainty of a doctrinal statement reported to me as having been orally delivered by the author of that work. True, our opponents ground their proof of the correctness of the report of it to which they refer, on the

universal agreement in that report by *all* Catholics everywhere, urging that such consent proves its correctness. But then, as we have already observed, the proof of this consent is lamentably deficient, and in fact the claim to it evidently unfounded. There is no such testimony for the Apostolical origin of any doctrine or rite not contained in Scripture, or any interpretation of Scripture, as for the genuineness of the books of the New Testament; I believe I might say, of all, but certainly of all but those books whose genuineness was doubted of by some in the Primitive Church, in which case neither party can be assured on the point by the testimony of Patristical Tradition. And were we even to suppose the existence of such consent, its weight in reporting an oral doctrinal statement of the Apostles, however great, would be very different, as we have already intimated, from the weight which it has in bearing witness to a certain book having come from the Apostles. Were we even to allow, then, that in both cases there was consent in the remaining Fathers, (which we by no means do,) and that that testimony was sufficient in the *latter* case, it would by no means follow that it was so in the *former*.

Nay more, the character of the testimony is altogether different. The witness borne to Scripture is direct. It is of this nature. Such and such a book was written by such an Apostle, the book being cited under his name. But in the case of doctrines, interpretations, or practices, it is not in general pretended, that the witness appealed to by our opponents is of this direct kind; and if such a pretence be made, facts will immediately disprove its truth. There are few cases in which the Fathers can be shown to have made, generally, any direct claim to be delivering the oral teaching of the Apostles; and the two in which such claims are made with the most confidence, and by the greatest number, are just those which are generally disallowed, viz., the doctrine of the millennium and the practice of giving the eucharist to infants.

Moreover, in the delivery of a doctrinal statement, we have to contend with all the difficulties arising from the carelessness and inaccuracy of the writer, the indistinctness of his own conceptions, the bias to which his subject inclined him,—difficulties, which, as any man of experience in such matters will admit, are



quite sufficient to prevent the possibility of any proof of consent, even where consent might exist.

And as to matters of fact, and the rites and practices of the Church, what is there for which we have anything like consentient Patristical testimony for its Apostolical origin? We have, no doubt, on many points, Patristical testimony strongly *confirmatory* of the correctness of our interpretation of Scripture in matters both of doctrine and practice, but the only testimony which would bear a comparison with that which testifies to the genuineness of Scripture is a direct ascription of the doctrine or practice to Apostolical teaching.

Let our opponents, then, no longer envelope themselves in the smoke of fine words and vague generalities, but fairly tell us, what *doctrine or practice*, or what *interpretation of Scripture* can challenge such direct testimony to its Apostolical origin from the Catholic Fathers as a body, and *point out the passages in which such testimony is to be found*. For instance, let them point out the passages in which it is stated, that the Apostles directed that infants should be baptized, and then let them compare with the evidence they find on this point the direct testimonies of the Fathers to the authorship of the books of the New Testament. The evidence will be found to be of an altogether different kind.

It is quite true, that the process by which the truth that Scripture is the word of God is arrived at, and the motives inducing men to believe it, may be very different in different individuals. One may begin at one part of the proof and another at another, one may be chiefly influenced by one part, and another by another. And, generally, in the case of those who have been instructed by the Church, the teaching of the Church as to the sacredness of these books is the *introductory* motive to belief in them as the Word of God, so that any subsequent inquiry respecting them is commenced with a feeling of reverent regard towards them. And this feeling *united with a contemplation of the internal testimony* to the divine origin of the revelation they contain, exhibited in the excellent nature and effects of that revelation, may, and often will, (always, with the



assistance of God's Spirit,) produce in the mind a belief in this truth, without any such elaborate investigation of the evidence for it as that to which we have just alluded.

But, in no case, and under no circumstances, can the Tradition of the Church be justly taken as *sufficient* proof of a matter which involves a doctrine affecting the very foundation upon which the Church stands. Even were Tradition a safe guide, as far as concerns conveying to us the oral traditions of the Apostles, it would not at all follow, that it was a safe guide in this point; for the doctrine that Scripture is the Word of God, necessarily depends upon the character of our Lord and his Apostles; and this cannot be proved by any oral declaration of the Apostles to that effect, and still less by any decree of the Church.

But, doubtless, for the genuineness and inspiration of those particular writings which form the New Testament, there can be no sufficient proof to the unassisted mind, without good external evidence; and the external evidence we have for these truths, appears to me to be, as far as external evidence can go, (for those parts, at least, of the New Testament that have universal tradition in their favour,) conclusive.

And hence, it is the duty of every man who is qualified by education to do so, to inquire into the evidences for the doctrine that Scripture is the word of God; and unless he does this, he cannot possess that evidence of the truth of the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture which is necessary (putting out of sight the work of the Spirit upon the heart) to form so complete a proof of it as to leave no room for reason to cavil or hesitate.

God, indeed, may so convince a man's mind of any truth, by a direct operation upon the soul, that such a person would be guilty, and without excuse before him, for not believing it. But in the first place, this can be no evidence to any one but himself. And further, on account of the *discordant* opinions that have been maintained under the *supposition* of such an internal testimony, it is clearly the duty of such an one to see that it is not opposed by other reasonable testimony, and to ascertain, as far as he is able, how far it is supported by other testimony. Granted, that he may not be able to see or understand all the

evidence there is in its favour, and that if he finds that it is not opposed by other valid evidence, this may be enough for satisfaction in such a case; yet, the inquiry it is his duty to make. And this I conceive to be practically the situation of many Christians, who, from circumstances, are prevented from taking that clear and comprehensive view of the evidences for Scripture which *demonstrate* its divine origin. Here, as far as human assent could go, the ground for belief is lessened; but, in the case which we are now supposing, the work is one of Divine power, and therefore the satisfaction possessed by the mind proportionably strong. Nevertheless, the same reason which makes it incumbent upon such a man to look beyond the internal impressions produced upon his own mind in favour of the truth, either by the intrinsic power of the word or by divine influence, goes to show, that the inquiry should be carried as far as the inquirer is able to investigate the subject. It is the duty and the privilege of one who feels that religion is his chief concern, thus to investigate the proofs for the divine origin of the Scriptures, and so to strengthen and fortify his faith in what they reveal.

Instead, however, of wishing men to make such inquiries, our opponents urge them against so doing, as both unnecessary and dangerous; and that, not on account of the power of the internal evidence of the word or the work of the Spirit, but as if, forsooth, it were an affront to "the Church." Men are to be content to receive all on faith in the dictum of "the Church." Their language is, in fact, You must shut your eyes and walk straightforward as your ecclesiastical guide tells you, and then all will be right. Only be sure not to open your eyes and look where you are going, for, in that case, we will not answer for the consequences; for we can assure you, that some people who have used their eyesight, have made mistakes. And in truth, holding the opinions they do (which we shall notice presently) as to the nature of these evidences, and the state in which men are left, it is no wonder that such is their advice.

But, say our opponents, what are men in general, particularly the illiterate, to do, who are unable to investigate the evidences for this truth? I return the question, and shall probably be

told, that the illiterate *must* believe upon the testimony of the Church. But, to the illiterate man, the testimony of the Church is merely the testimony of the individual who happens to be his pastor. Will any man say, that such testimony is a fit and proper ground for faith? No; he is not left to such a fragile reed to lean upon. He has a testimony to the truth that Scripture is the word of God infinitely superior to this—I mean in the internal evidence which that Word brings with it of its divine origin in the excellent nature and effects of the revelation contained in it; which, when applied to the heart by the Spirit, is known and felt to be the truth of God. And this testimony of the Holy Spirit to the written Word, given either directly, or indirectly through the revelation contained in it, seals it with an impress not to be mistaken by those to whom it is vouchsafed, and without which, faith in Scripture, as the word of God, is a mere historical faith, altogether unprofitable to any saving purpose.

I hope our opponents are not prepared to deny this, though, alas, of such operations of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of individuals, we hear scarcely anything in their writings; and I will, therefore, take the opportunity to call their attention to another passage from one of their own witnesses, Dr. Jackson. “The  
 “ Holy Spirit who instructed the first messengers of the Gospel  
 “ with the true sense and knowledge of the truths therein re-  
 “ vealed, and furnished them with diversity of tongues to utter  
 “ them to the capacity of divers nations, can and *doth*, through-  
 “ out all succeeding ages, continue his gifts, whether of tongues  
 “ or others, whatsoever are necessary for *conveying* the true  
 “ sense and meaning of saving truth already taught, **IMME-**  
 “ **DICATELY** *to the hearts* of all such, in every nation, as are not  
 “ for their sin judged unworthy of his society; of all such as  
 “ resist not his motions to follow the lusts of the flesh. And as  
 “ for men altogether illiterate, that cannot read the Scriptures  
 “ in any tongue, we do not hold them bound (nor, indeed, are  
 “ any) to believe absolutely or expressly every clause or sentence  
 “ in the sacred canon to be the infallible oracle of God’s Spirit  
 “ otherwise than is before expressed; but unto the several mat-  
 “ ters or substance of truth contained in the principal parts



“ thereof, their souls and spirits are so surely tied and fastened,  
 “ that they can say to their own consciences, wheresoever these  
 “ men that teach us these good lessons, learned the same them-  
 “ selves, most certain it is, that originally they came from God ;  
 “ and by the gracious providence of that God, whose goodness  
 “ they so often mention, are they now come to us. Such are,  
 “ the rules and testimonies of God’s providence, the doctrines  
 “ or real truths of original sin, of our misery by nature, and  
 “ freedom by grace : such are, the articles of Christ’s passion  
 “ and the effects thereof, of the resurrection and life everlasting  
 “ . . . Many other points there be, not of like necessity or con-  
 “ sequence, which unto men specially altogether unlearned, or  
 “ otherwise of less capacity, may be proposed as the infallible  
 “ oracles of God ; *unto some of which it is not lawful for them to*  
 “ *give so absolute and firm irrevocable assent as they must do unto*  
 “ *the former, because they cannot discern the truth of them in*  
 “ *itself, or for itself, or with their own eyes, as, it is supposed, they*  
 “ *did the truth of the former.*”<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the nature of that faith by which we believe Scripture to be the word of God, it is said by the Romanists, that it must be a divine faith, that is, one that stands on divine testimony ; because, in all the articles of religion, faith must have divine testimony to rest upon.

Now, it is quite true, as we have already admitted, or rather maintained, that for any influential belief in the doctrine that Scripture is the word of God, we need divine testimony, namely, the testimony of the Spirit of God in our hearts ; but the doctrine that Scripture is the word of God or a divine testimony, does not absolutely require a divine testimony to prove it.

The object in view with the Romanists is, to make the testimony of the Church the ground upon which our belief of this truth rests. And they make use of this proposition in two ways ; first, to make us the humble servants of “ the Church” for a knowledge of this truth ; and also to build upon it the argument, that the testimony of the Church must be divine,

<sup>1</sup> JACKSON On the Creed, Book ii. sect. 1. c. 2.



because otherwise we should have no sufficient ground for a belief in this necessary truth.

Now, it is readily admitted, that, for all the truths of religion, we need divine testimony as the foundation for faith. But the question whether this or that is a divine testimony, is not, strictly speaking, any part of our religion, but rather a *previous question*. The Christian religion consists in that which is revealed to us as such. The revelation itself includes all the doctrines of religion, strictly speaking. And he who believes the revelation contained in the Scriptures, though he might never see the Scriptures, (the case with not a few in antient, and perhaps some in modern times,) is as much in a state of salvation, as he who enjoys the higher privilege of possessing the Scriptures and faith in their inspiration.

Moreover, if it were absolutely necessary, that before we could believe any testimony to be divine, we must have divine testimony that it is so, then there could be no proof to be had of a divine testimony; each one requiring another to prove it, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

The great question for consideration with one who is investigating the evidences for what professes to be a revelation from God, is, whether those evidences are sufficient to prove it to be a divine testimony, or not. And this is a question, with which every man has to deal, who is made acquainted in any way with anything that professes to be a divine testimony. He must seek for some rational grounds of conviction that such testimony is divine; and the motives inducing him to believe that such is the case, ought to be such as approve themselves to the reason of mankind. To judge the evidences upon which the claim of anything to be a divine testimony rests, is the proper province of reason; while, upon the revelation itself, it is exercised only so far as to ascertain that there is nothing directly contrary to its dictates; and it accepts with humility much that may be, in its full proportions, infinitely above it, transcending the powers of human reason, as much as the Divine nature does the human. The resolution of the question, Upon what grounds do I believe anything to be a divine testimony, "must be fetched," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "from those *rational evidences* whereby a

“divine testimony must be distinguished from one merely human and fallible.”<sup>1</sup>

We may here remark, however, that, even apart from the divine testimony vouchsafed in the work of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, convincing of this truth, there was *originally* divine testimony to the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture. For this doctrine follows from that of the divine mission of our Lord, and the inspiration of his Apostles; and, for that doctrine, we have the testimony of the Father at Christ’s baptism, the miracles wrought by our Lord and his Apostles, the testimony of prophecy, and the power and success of the Gospel; all divine testimonies, whether men are disposed to admit them as such, or not. For *God bare witness*, we are told, to the Apostles, with signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost; (Heb. ii. 4.) and confirmed the word with signs following. (Mark xvi. 20.)

It is quite true, that this divine testimony comes to us in part only in the report of fallible men, and so far loses a portion of its force. But still there was originally divine testimony to the inspiration of the Scriptures; and the report of that testimony is an important evidence on the point to us. But the only direct divine testimony to the point we now enjoy, is that of the Holy Spirit upon the heart.

The Romanists, however, not satisfied with there having been originally divine testimony to the inspiration of Scripture, maintain, that the testimony upon which every man believes this truth, must be divine; when, in fact, apart from the direct witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart, no man now has more than a human report of such testimony. And while maintaining *in theory* this position, they are *in fact* making mere human *teaching* the ground of belief, and thereby causing the faith of their followers to rest on a totally insufficient foundation.

Upon the whole, then, let us observe what is the state of the case in this matter. The great and important question is, Whether the religion revealed to us in the Scriptures of the New Testament, is from God. And the great evidence in favour of

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET’S Orig. Sacr. ii. 8.

the affirmative, is to be found in the excellent nature and effects of that religion ; which may, even to the natural mind, and certainly will, to the spiritually enlightened mind, produce a conviction of its divine origin. The sincere inquirer after the truth, therefore, to whom the gift of the Spirit is promised, is not left in this matter to depend upon any human testimony. His faith is grounded upon far better evidence, even the internal power of the Word, sealed in his experience with the witness of the Spirit to its divine origin. And this is, in fact, the very marrow and substance of the question of the inspiration of Scripture ; and all other points are, in the comparison, of but secondary importance.

But this, it may be said, affects only those parts of Scripture in which the great truths of Christianity are delivered ; and does not even here show more than the divine origin of the truths so delivered ; whereas it is of importance to know, to what extent we have divine testimony on the subject of religion ; and whether the Scriptures, as they stand, proceeded from the pen of inspired authors.

Now, I will not venture so to limit the operations of God's Spirit in the hearts of the faithful, as to admit that such is the case. But thus much I freely allow, that it is the duty of those who are capable of making the inquiry, to ascertain the evidence that exists upon these points.

Here, then, comes in the question of the canon ; and we have already shown, that for most of the books of the New Testament we have, besides the internal testimony, various testimonies to their Apostolical origin or sanction, among which one is the unanimous witness of the ancient records of the Church ; and for the other books, similar testimony, except that Patristical Tradition is not unanimous on the point, and consequently the external testimony is not so indubitably in their favour as in the case of the others.

For the former, the evidence that they are the genuine writings of the Apostles, is, we hold, such as to leave no doubt of the fact, in the mind of any impartial person. For the latter, the *external* evidence is not equally convincing. The burthen of proof must be thrown more upon the internal evidence ; and the



guidance of God's Holy Spirit sought to enable us to judge aright. For, to assert that any ecclesiastical affirmation at the present day can be a sufficient ground for faith in a matter in which the Primitive Church was divided, may obtain for a man the credit of being a very bold and confident friend of "the Church," but not that of a very wise or very trustworthy man.

Such, then, we conceive to be the foundation upon which we have to rest in this question. For the divine origin of the religion delivered to us in the Scriptures, in all its great and important features, every sincere inquirer after the truth has not only the internal witness of its excellence, but also divine testimony. The Holy Spirit works conviction within him, and gives him a knowledge and assurance of the truth. And I see not how, even without further divine assistance, when he couples this testimony with the evident claims of the writers of the Scriptures to divine guidance in their delivery of the truth, he can doubt of the inspiration of those parts of Scripture, at least, in which the great truths of Christianity are delivered. But, besides this, he has, for nearly the whole of the Scriptures, moral evidence, of the most convincing kind, of their having proceeded from inspired authors.

Here, then, is sufficient ground for faith to build upon. It is not resting on uncertainties. It has a foundation amply sufficient for its support ; and were it not so, it would not be faith.

But, alas ! our opponents, to induce us, if possible, to embrace their notions on the subject of "Tradition," seem willing to leave Christianity itself without any firm foundation to rest upon. They are quite aware of the weakness of the reed upon which they are leaning when using Patristical Tradition for the purposes to which they apply it. But rather than give it up, they have laboured to show, that Christianity itself stands on no better ground, and that the Christian's faith is a mere persuasion, encompassed with doubts and difficulties, such as results from a balance of opposing probabilities !

"The rule of Vincent," says Mr. Newman, "is not of a mathematical or demonstrative character, but moral, and requires practical judgment and good sense to apply it. . . .



“ How many Fathers, how many places, how many instances  
 “ constitute a fulfilment of the test proposed? *It is, then,*  
 “ *from the nature of the case, a condition which never can be*  
 “ *satisfied as fully as it might have been; it admits of various*  
 “ *and unequal application in various instances, and what degree*  
 “ *of application is enough must be decided by the same prin-*  
 “ *ciples which guide us in the conduct of life, which determine*  
 “ *us in politics, or trade, or war, which lead us to accept revelation*  
 “ *at all, FOR WHICH WE HAVE BUT PROBABILITY TO KNOW AT*  
 “ *MOST, NAY, TO BELIEVE IN THE EXISTENCE OF*  
 “ *AN INTELLIGENT CREATOR.*” (pp. 68, 69.) “ We,  
 “ for our part, have been taught to consider, that faith in its  
 “ degree as well as conduct, must be guided by probabilities,  
 “ and that *doubt is ever our portion in this life.* We can bear  
 “ to confess, that other systems have their unanswerable argu-  
 “ ments in matters of detail, and that we are but *striking a*  
 “ *balance between difficulties existing on both sides; that we are*  
 “ *following as the voice of God, what ON THE WHOLE we have*  
 “ *reason to think such.*” (p. 129.) And, therefore, the Ro-  
 manists, who justly think that doubt is incompatible with faith,<sup>1</sup>  
 and have, consequently, very unnecessarily and unwarrantably  
 invented the doctrine of infallibility to remove it, are told, that  
 they have troubled themselves very unnecessarily about the  
 matter. (p. 103.) And we are told, that, “ according to Eng-  
 “ lish principles, faith has all it needs in knowing that God is  
 “ our Creator and Preserver, and that he MAY, IF IT SO  
 “ HAPPEN, have spoken.” . . . “ If we are asked, how *faith*  
 “ *differs from opinion, we reply, in its considering his being,*  
 “ *governance, and will, as a matter of personal interest and im-*  
 “ *portance to us, not in the degree of light or darkness under*  
 “ *which it perceives these truths.*” . . . “ *Nay, doubt may even*  
 “ *be said to be implied in a Christian’s faith.* . . . . To re-  
 “ quire such definite and clear notices of truth, is to hanker  
 “ after the Jewish law, a system of *less mysterious* information,  
 “ as well as less *GENEROUS faith.*” And he says, that “ Scrip-  
 ture is full of instances in point.” And what does the reader  
 suppose is the instance he gives? That of our Saviour himself,

<sup>1</sup> See PLACETTE’S Incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome, c. 1.

who, he tells us, "scarcely once declared to inquirers that he "was the Christ," but "left them to gather the great truth for "themselves how they could, WITH WHATEVER DEGREE OF CERTAINTY," &c., implying that no evidence was given *sufficient* to exclude doubt. (See the whole of pp. 103—5.) And a writer in the principal organ of our opponents, the *British Critic*, replying to the objection that the evidence for Tradition is insufficient to produce assurance of its truth, meets the objection on the ground that there is not (as he would have us believe) indubitable evidence for Scripture. (*Brit. Crit.* for April, 1839; p. 467.) And this remark is made, apparently, on the ground, that there are those who object to the sufficiency of that evidence; just as they tell us, that Scripture must be obscure, because some people misinterpret it.

And thus the Author of the 85th Tract says, "How do we "know that the whole Bible is the word of God? Happily, at "present, we are content to believe this, because we have been "*so taught*. It is our great blessedness to receive it *on faith*. " . . . It does seem to me preposterous to confess that free "inquiry leads to scepticism, [who confesses this?] and scepticism makes one less happy than faith; and yet that such "free inquiry is right. *What is right, and what is happy, "cannot, on the long run, and on a large scale, be disjoined*. To "follow truth can never be a subject of regret; *free inquiry "does lead a man to regret the days of his child-like faith*, [which "shows who it is that thinks free inquiry does lead to scepticism, and therefore advises us to shut our eyes,] therefore, it is not following truth." (pp. 72, 3.) And after having depreciated, as far as possible, the testimony we have for the canon of Scripture, in order to make it appear not more than what we have for any of his favourite doctrines, (pp. 75 et seq.) and collected together "startling" passages of Scripture as a set-off to anything startling we may find in his traditional doctrines; (pp. 86 et seq.) and, at last, concluded, that "the canon "of Scripture rests on no other foundation than [what he calls] "the catholic doctrines," and that "*in both cases we believe "mainly because the Church of THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES unanimously believed;*" (p. 102.) feeling, of course,

the utter weakness of the foundation to which he has reduced both, boldly tells us, that in the intercourse between our Lord and the Pharisees, the latter "*were bid to believe on weak arguments and fanciful deductions;*" (p. 111.) and having thus paved the way for his conclusion, sums up all with the following observations,—“In connexion with what has been said, observe “the singular coincidence, or rather appositeness, of what Scripture enjoins, as to going by *faith* in religious matters. *The difficulties which exist in the evidence, give a deep meaning to the exhortation.* Scripture is quite aware of the difficulties. “Objections can be brought against its own inspiration, its “canonicity; against revealed doctrines, as in the case of the “Jews; against the Messiahship of Jesus Christ. It knows “them all; it has provided against them by recognising them. “It says ‘Believe,’ because it knows that unless we believe “there is no means of divine knowledge. If we will doubt, that “is, if we will not allow evidence to be sufficient which *merely* “results in a balance on the side of revelation; if we will determine that no evidence is enough to prove revealed doctrine “but what is overpowering; if we will not go by evidence in “which THERE ARE (SO TO SAY) THREE CHANCES FOR REVELATION, AND ONLY TWO AGAINST, we cannot be Christians, “we shall miss Christ, either in his inspired Scriptures, or in “his doctrines, or in his ordinances.” “*Love is the parent of faith. We believe in things we see not from love of them. . . . Faith is reliance on the word of another; the word of another is, in itself, a faint evidence, compared with that of sight or reason. It is influential only when we cannot do without it. . . . Why should not the Church be divine? The burden of proof surely is on the other side. I will accept her doctrines, and her rites, and her Bible—not one, and not the other, but all—till I have clear proof that she is mistaken. It is, I FEEL, God’s will that I should do so; and besides, I love these her possessions—I love her Bible, her doctrines, and her rites, and THEREFORE I BELIEVE.*” (pp. 112—15.)

If this is not the *ne plus ultra* of enthusiasm, where can we find it? And why, I would ask, may not the Pagan or Mohammedan be allowed the same answer? I am a Pagan, because



I *love* the doctrines and rites of Paganism. I am a Moham-medan, because I *love* the doctrines and rites of Mohammed. The answer is just as reasonable in their mouths, as in that of the Christian. That there is no influential saving belief in the doctrines of the Gospel, without some love of them, and therefore that we need "the love of God to be shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Spirit," is indeed most true; and thankful should we have been to have seen a recognition of this truth; but for a man to make faith depend upon a mere feeling of love, and seriously to maintain, that if we came to investigate the evidence for our religion, and weigh the arguments *pro* and *con*, we should find that there was *a mere balance in its favour, in the proportion of three for, and two against*; and that, too, where all the "love" and prepossessions of the writer are professedly engaged on the side of the scale which he tells us *does but just preponderate*, is indeed a fearful specimen of recklessness in the support of a hypothesis. It is as if, rather than not maintain it, he would endanger the cause of Christianity itself.

Thus, in their wild zeal for Tradition, they are sapping the very foundations of Christianity. The doctrine which they have here advanced, is precisely that which is calculated to drive men either into Romanism, in order to find something which at least professes to relieve men from doubt and uncertainty, or into Infidelity.

No wonder that any one should discourage men from looking into the evidences for religion and the inspiration of the Bible, who thinks that there is no better evidence than a small balance of probabilities for them.

As to Mr. Newman's remark in the first of the passages quoted above, that there is but probability for the existence of an Intelligent Creator, there are many Deists who would not have made it.

And to give weight to these views, he has ventured even to quote Bishop Butler as giving his sanction to them. For, after the first of the passages given above, where he speaks of having "*probability at most to show*" for revelation, he adds, "This character, indeed, of Vincent's canon, will but **RECOMMEND** it to the disciples of the school of Butler, from its agreement



“with the analogy of nature.” I have no hesitation in saying, that this reference to Bishop Butler’s celebrated “Analogy” betrays a complete misapprehension of the nature of his argument in that invaluable work. The Bishop has there shown the infidel, that, *even if* the evidence for Christianity were not such as to afford him a proof that he could consider beyond exception certain, still it amounts to such a degree of probability, that he is doing unwisely *in such a matter* not to act according to its dictates; just as in many other matters he would himself reckon it unreasonable not to act upon evidence, which, nevertheless, he did not feel to be free from the possibility of cavil. Bishop Butler not only gives no countenance to the notion that he sympathized in the feeling that the evidence for Christianity was open to any just cavil or reasonable difficulty, but clearly shows, that he had no such notion. For, while he invariably puts such views only into the mouths of his opponents,—as, for instance, “*Persons who speak of the evidence of religion as doubtful, and of this supposed doubtfulness as a positive argument against it, should be put upon considering,*” &c. (Pt. 2. c. 6.); and again, “*If, upon consideration of religion, the evidence of it should seem to any persons doubtful, in the highest supposable degree, even this doubtful evidence will, however, put them into a general state of probation,*” (Ib.)—he speaks so as clearly to show, that *he* regarded the evidence for Christianity in a very different light. “*Though,*” he says, “*this proof [i. e., miracles] is real and conclusive, yet it is liable to objections, and may be run up into difficulties; which, however, persons who are capable not only of talking of, but of really seeing, are capable of seeing through; that is, not of clearing up and answering them so as to satisfy their curiosity; for of such knowledge we are not capable with respect to any one thing in nature; but capable of seeing that the proof is not lost in these difficulties, or destroyed by these objections.*” (Ib.) Again, speaking of the evidence for Christianity from prophecy, he reminds his opponents, that “*those persons who have thoroughly examined it, and some of them were men of the coolest tempers, greatest capacities, and least liable to imputations of prejudice, insist upon it as*

“*determinately conclusive.*” (Pt. 2. c. 7.) “The truth of our religion, like the truth of common matters, is to be judged of by all the evidence taken together. And unless the whole series of things which may be alleged in this argument, and every particular in it, can reasonably be supposed to have been by accident, (for here the stress of the argument for Christianity lies,) then is the truth of it *proved.*” (Ib.)

It is difficult to conceive, how Bishop Butler’s meaning could be so misapprehended as it has been by Mr. Newman. And one cannot but regret, for the honour of our Church, that such statements as we are now commenting on, should ever have seen the light, from the quarter from which they come.

If Mr. Newman had confined himself to the observation, that Bishop Butler had shown, that it was reasonable to act sometimes upon evidence which, though open to some cavils, rendered anything probable, and that consequently Patristical Tradition was not to be despised because it was open to some cavils, that would have been more like a *fair* application of the Bishop’s *mode of reasoning*. But even then the argument would not have been tenable. For the things which Bishop Butler is speaking of are the highest verities of religion. Now it might be very true, that, as it respects the great doctrines of Christianity, doubtful evidence might be a sufficient inducement to reasonable men to *act* as persons convinced of their truth, and yet it would not follow, that the same evidence should be considered sufficient for other matters. He who had once seen the tide return after ebbing, would infer the *possibility* of its returning again, and upon that inference might reasonably act as if it *certainly* would do so, because his life was at stake; but if the utmost which the return of the tide could do would be immaterial to him, then there would be no absurdity in his waiting for further evidence.

Moreover, the two cases are altogether different. In the one case a religion is offered us, which it is alleged is the only guide to happiness in another world, and the belief of which, even if it should turn out not to be true, can do us no harm, but, on the contrary, will promote our real happiness here. We may reasonably act, therefore, as if it were true, even on doubtful

evidence. But, in the other case, statements are brought to us, claiming to be reports of the oral teaching of the Apostles, which, while they do not pretend to be of vital importance, may be but corruptions of Christianity, and therefore be more or less injurious to us.

The argument of Bishop Butler, indeed, if thus strained to matters to which it was never intended to apply, loses all its force. For it might be applied to anything we meet with in one or two of the Fathers. Such things (it might be said) being thus mentioned, there is a degree of probability that they had an Apostolical origin, and therefore, as Bishop Butler tells us, that in religious matters a degree of probability is a sufficient ground for us to act upon, we are bound to act as if these statements were certainly Apostolical. But who sees not, that such an application of his argument would be absurd?

Mr. Newman is fond of appealing to Bishop Stillingsfleet, as one who held his views. Let me call his attention, then, to the following extract from that able and truly Protestant Prelate's writings.

"Those evidences," says the Bishop, "whereby a divine testimony may be known, must be such as may not leave men's minds *in suspense*, but are of their own nature *convincing proofs* of it . . . I know it is a great dispute among many, whether those things which are usually called the common motives of faith, do of their own nature only induce a probable persuasion of the truth of the doctrine as probable which they are joined with, or else are they sufficient for the producing a firm assent to the doctrine as true? I grant they are not demonstrative so as to enforce assent, for we see the contrary by the experience of all ages; but that they are not sufficient foundation for an unprejudiced mind to establish a firm assent upon, is a thing not easy to be granted; chiefly upon this account, that an obligation to believe doth lie upon every one to whom these evidences of a divine testimony are sufficiently discovered . . . . If, therefore, there be no evidences given sufficient to carry the minds of men beyond mere probability, what sin can it be in those to disbelieve, who cannot be obliged to believe as true what is only dis-

“ covered as probable. I cannot, therefore, see, how an obli-  
 “ gation to believe a divine testimony is consistent with their  
 “ opinion who make the *utmost* which any outward evidences  
 “ can extend to, to be only the *bare credibility* of the doctrine  
 “ attested by them. *I can very well satisfy myself with the ground*  
 “ *and reason why the more subtle wits of the Church of Rome do*  
 “ *assert this ; for if nothing else can be produced by all motives of*  
 “ *faith but only a probable persuasion of the truth of Christian*  
 “ *doctrine, then here comes in the fairest pretence for the infalli-*  
 “ *bility of their Church ; for, otherwise, they tell us, we can*  
 “ *have no foundation for a divine faith ; for how can that be a*  
 “ *foundation for divine faith which can reach no higher than a*  
 “ *moral inducement, and beget only a probable persuasion of the*  
 “ *credibility of the doctrine of Christ ? But, on what account those*  
 “ *who disown the infallibility of the Church of Rome in the pro-*  
 “ *posal of matters of faith, should yet consent with those of it in an*  
 “ *hypothesis taken up in probability, merely out of subserviency to*  
 “ *that most advantageous piece of the mystery of iniquity, is*  
 “ *not easy to resolve. Unless the over-fondness of some upon*  
 “ *the doctrine of the Schools more than of the Gospel, hath been*  
 “ *the occasion of it.* For, how agreeable can that opinion  
 “ be to the Gospel, which so evidently puts the most defen-  
 “ sive weapons into the hands of unbelief ? For, doubt-  
 “ less, in the judgment of any rational person a mere probable  
 “ persuasion of the credibility of the doctrine of Christ,  
 “ where an assent to it as true is required, can never be looked  
 “ on as an act of faith ; for if my assent to the truth of  
 “ the thing be according to the strength of the arguments  
 “ inducing me to believe, and these arguments do only prove  
 “ a probability of divine testimony, my assent can be no  
 “ stronger than to a thing merely probable ; which is, that it  
 “ may be or not be true, which is not properly assent, but a  
 “ suspending our judgments till some *convincing* argument be  
 “ produced on either side . . . . I cannot conceive, that men,  
 “ otherwise learned and sober, should with so much confidence  
 “ assert, that the rational evidences of a divine testimony are  
 “ insufficient to prove a doctrine true, unless it be from *hence*,  
 “ that they find, that, notwithstanding the strongest evidences,



“ many persons continue in unbelief. For, say they, ‘ if these  
 “ arguments were scientific and demonstrative (as they speak)  
 “ of the truth of the doctrine attested by them, then all persons  
 “ to whom they are propounded must certainly believe.’ But  
 “ this is very easily answered ; for we speak not of internal but  
 “ outward evidence ; not of that in the subject, but of the object,  
 “ or more fully of the reason of the thing, and not the event in  
 “ us ; for, doubtless, there may be undoubted truth and evidence  
 “ in many things which some persons either cannot or will not  
 “ understand. If Epicurus should contend still, that the sun  
 “ and stars are no bigger than they seem to be, will it hence  
 “ follow, that there can be no rational demonstration of the  
 “ contrary ? Nay, if the way of demonstration be offered him,  
 “ and telescopes put into his hands, yet if he be resolved to  
 “ maintain his credit, and therefore his opinion, and will not use  
 “ the telescopes, or suspect still they are intended only to deceive  
 “ his sight, what possible way will there be of convincing such  
 “ a person, though the thing be in itself demonstrable ? Now,  
 “ if the strength of prejudice, or maintaining of credit, can  
 “ prevail so much in matters of mathematical evidence, to with-  
 “ hold assent, what power may we think a corrupt interest may  
 “ have upon the understanding, as to the arguments which  
 “ tend to prove the truth of that doctrine which is so repugnant  
 “ to that carnal interest which the heart is already devoted to !  
 “ Our blessed Saviour hath himself given us so full an account  
 “ of the original and causes of unbelief in the persons he con-  
 “ versed with, that that may yield us a sufficient answer to this  
 “ objection. He tells us, the ground of it was not want of  
 “ light, nay, *there was light sufficient to convince any*, but that  
 “ those to whom the light came loved darkness rather than it,  
 “ because their deeds were evil. John iii. 19. . . . [And he pro-  
 “ ceeds to refer to John v. 44., Matt. vii. 14., John v. 40.] . . .  
 “ When the most convincing miracles were used, they would  
 “ rather attribute them to the Prince of devils than to the  
 “ power of God. (Matt. xi. 24.) And though our Saviour pre-  
 “ sently, by rational and demonstrative arguments, did prove  
 “ the contrary to their faces, yet we see thereby it was a reso-  
 “ lution not to be convinced, or yield to the truth, which was

“ the cause why they did not believe. . . . It would be no difficult  
 “ task to discover in all those instances wherein the unbelief of  
 “ men is discovered in the New Testament, that the persons  
 “ guilty of it did not proceed like rational men, or such as desired  
 “ truth, but were wholly carried away through passion, interest,  
 “ prejudice, disaffection, or some other cause of that nature,  
 “ which may give us a sufficient account why those persons did  
 “ not believe, although there might be *clear* and *undoubted* evi-  
 “ dence to persuade them to it. But although I assert that  
 “ these rational evidences are sufficient arguments of the truth  
 “ of the doctrine they come to manifest, yet I would not be so  
 “ understood that I thereby resolve all religion into a mere act  
 “ of reason and knowledge, and that no more power is required  
 “ in the understanding to believe the Gospel than to believe a  
 “ mathematical demonstration ; which is another objection some  
 “ lay in the way of this opinion, but it is not difficult getting  
 “ over it. For, the sufficiency which I attribute to rational evi-  
 “ dence is not absolute and simple, but *in suo genere* as an ob-  
 “ jective evidence.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the language of Bishop Stillingfleet on this matter, and we see from it, that this doctrine of Mr. Newman appeared to him to be one which admitted the fairest pretence for introducing the Infallibility of the Church of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

But, in truth, our opponents seem to think, that where there is indubitable evidence for anything, there cannot be faith ; that, in a word, faith is some indescribable act of the mind by which its assent is given upon evidence not sufficient to exclude doubt, and that there must be some degree of doubtfulness in the evidence to make it faith. For, Mr. Keble tells us, that “ evidence complete in all its parts leaves no room for faith.” (p. 82.) And again, “ Perhaps had the evidence for it [i. e., the Nicene tradition] been more overpowering, no room would have been “ left for the requisite trial of our faith.” (p. 148.) So that if a few persons were to tell us, that there is such a place as Rome, we might believe that there was, and that would be faith ; but if

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S *Origines Sacrae*, bk. ii. ch. 8. at the end.

<sup>2</sup> Again I must remind the reader, how completely Mr. Newman's subsequent course has justified this remark.

the evidence was so strong in favour of there being such a place, that it was in reason *indubitable* that there was, then there would be no room for faith. May I ask what there would be room for?

I know not what faith can be but an assent of the mind upon that rational evidence which has the effect, in the case of the party concerned, of excluding doubt. For, it is surely impossible to believe a thing, and yet be doubtful about it at the same time. It may be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to decide the precise amount of moral evidence calculated to bring conviction to the mind of an individual; but, surely, to maintain that a man may believe, nay is bound to believe, a thing upon evidence which you allow not to be sufficient to produce conviction in him, is beyond measure strange. "Doth the strength of the argument," says Bishop Stillingfleet, when meeting a precisely similar statement from one of his Romish adversaries, "hinder me at all from believing what I did not see? I had rather thought, the more obscure the object had been, the greater necessity there had been of strong evidence to persuade a man to believe. . . . *the greatest clearness and evidence as to the testimony is not repugnant to the nature of faith.*"—"We think it our duty to believe firmly whatever God saith, but withal we think it our duty to inquire carefully, whether God hath said it or no, before we believe; and according to the evidence we have of this we assent to the former."<sup>1</sup>

I will only add (as there is no authority with our opponents like the Fathers) a passage from the excellent Hilary. Speaking of St. Paul using the words "according to the Scriptures," when adverting to the death and resurrection of Christ, (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4,) he says, that he did it to give *security* for the doctrine, to enable us to resist objections, when Christ Jesus was understood so to die and rise again as was *written*;—"for faith knows no danger (or, *uncertainty*); and every Christian confession is safe in the hidden mystery of God."

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith, pp. 387—390.

<sup>2</sup> Pia adversus calumniam resistendi securitate proposita, cum ita mori ac resurgere Christus Jesus intelligendus esset, qualiter scriptus est. *Non enim habet fides periculum: et omnis pia professio in occulto sacramento Dei tuta est.* HILAR. De Trin. lib. x. § 67. Op. col. 1078.

## CHAPTER VII.

THAT HOLY SCRIPTURE IS OUR SOLE DIVINELY-REVEALED  
 RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE, AND SOLE INFALLIBLE  
 JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES IN RELIGION, AND IS CON-  
 SEQUENTLY, IN THE CREDENDA OF RELIGION, THE SOLE  
 AUTHORITY WHICH BINDS THE CONSCIENCE TO BELIEF  
 IN WHAT IT DELIVERS.

It will be readily granted, I suppose, that, in religion, with the exception of those truths which (as the Apostle intimates, Rom. i.) reason, judging from the works of creation, may teach us, nothing but a divine testimony can be sufficient to bind the conscience to the belief of any doctrine. The divine will may, indeed, be made known to us in various ways, and through the agency of man; but all will agree I conceive in this, that whatever is delivered by man on the subject of religion, can have power over the conscience, only so far as it can be shown to have come originally from God.

For, faith, as it respects the truths of religion, must have for its foundation a divine testimony. "Faith," says the Apostle, "cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." (Rom. i. 17.) And this Bellarmine himself acknowledges, confessing, that "faith must have the word of God to rest upon," so that where there is no divine testimony, "there will be no faith."<sup>1</sup>

The ground, therefore, upon which our faith must rest, as it concerns the truths of religion, must be some real or supposed word of God. In our inquiries, therefore, as to "What is truth" in religion, we have to inquire, "What hath God said?" Our knowledge on the subject must begin and terminate with that

<sup>1</sup> *Cum fides nitatur verbo Dei, nisi habeamus verbum Dei non scriptum, nulla nobis erit fides.* BELLARM. De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 4. I am not here concerned with his reasoning in this passage, or with the application he makes of the principle.



which we have reason to consider divine revelation. Faith, theologically considered, expresses an assent of the mind to a truth *on the ground* of its having been revealed to us by God.<sup>1</sup> It is belief in things not the objects of the senses, built upon that which is believed to be divine testimony; and our evidence that such testimony is divine, must be satisfactory to the mind, otherwise our assent must be proportionably uncertain.

Hence, as we have already observed, the divinely-revealed Rule of faith is our *sole* Rule of faith.

In determining, therefore, what constitutes our *Rule of faith*, the great question is, From what quarter may we obtain information as to what God has revealed to man on the subject of religion, sufficiently certain to bind the conscience to belief?

For the answer to this question, it is evident that we cannot be guided by human authority. The Brahmin will send us to one set of sacred books, the Mohammedan to another. And the credentials of any person or writing, professing to deliver to us a divine revelation, must be judged by us upon our individual responsibility to God, and not taken for granted upon any *human* testimony; and for this simple reason, that we are each of us responsible to God for our conduct, and cannot shift that responsibility upon others. All, therefore, are obliged to allow the right and *duty* of private judgment upon this point to a certain extent. Even the Romanist himself, who begins with the doctrine of the infallibility of his Church, begs you to examine the credentials of its infallibility, and thereby grants, in that point at least, the right and duty of private judgment.

Mr. Newman himself, therefore, says, "If man is in a state of trial, and his trial lies in the general exercise of the will, and the choice of religion is an exercise of will, and always implies an act of individual judgment, it follows, that such acts are in the number of those by which he is tried, and for which he is to give an account hereafter. So far all parties must be agreed, that, without private judgment, there is no responsibility." (p. 155.) To which he adds, "Romanist,

<sup>2</sup> So DURANDUS (as quoted by Bishop Pearson in his Exposition of the Creed, Art. 1) says,—Fides est habitus quo assentimus dictis Scripturæ propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis. DURAND. Comment. in Lib. Sentent. lib. iii. dist. 24. q. 1. § 9.

“ I consider, agrees with Protestant so far ; the question in “ dispute being, what are the *means* which are to direct our “ choice, and what is the due *manner* of using them ;”—against which remark Mr. Newman must allow me to caution the reader, for the question is, what is the degree of value attaching to the various *means* we have to direct our choice, and whether, of those means, Scripture is not our alone divine and infallible informant ; and when he proceeds to tell us, that popular Protestantism would *deprive* us of all external means but Scripture, because it will not give them that place which he assigns to them, he is making a statement which, with impartial readers, can only be injurious to himself and his own cause. He knows well, that, to mention no others, one mean, used very diligently by “ popular Protestantism,” is the preaching of fallible men, whom it believes to be often used by God as the instruments for conveying saving truth to the heart, both in the choice of a religion, and after that choice is made, in the further choice between truth and error, as inculcated by the various teachers of that religion ; a choice, however, which, we contend, must be grounded upon that which has reasonable proof of its being the word of God.

Now, we have already considered the grounds upon which Holy Scripture demands our faith in it as the word of God. The question, then, is, Have we any other divine informant ? Our opponents put in a claim for what they call the Tradition of the Church, or Catholic Consent, *i. e.*, the tradition delivered to us by certain early writers of the Church ; and they tell us, that Scripture and this Tradition form jointly the Rule of faith, sending us for that Tradition to the writings of the first few centuries.

The reply is, that this Tradition (as we have already endeavoured to prove in a former chapter) is, from its nature, utterly unfit to be reckoned a divine informant, and, therefore, can form no part of the Rule of faith. Prove it to be a divine informant, and we at once admit it into the Rule of faith ; but if it be anything less than a divine informant, it can form no part of that Rule. Mr. Keble may rest assured, that we not only “ *cannot*,” but do not *wish* to “ hide it from ourselves, that

“ God’s unwritten word, *if it can* be any how authenticated, “ must necessarily demand the same reverence from us [*i. e.*, as “ his written word]; and for exactly the same reason, *because it “ is his word.*” (p. 26.) And to suppose that this is denied, is to fight with a shadow of his own creation, instead of meeting the real antagonist.

The “ Rule of faith,” therefore, might be thus defined,—that it consists, besides the Old Testament, of all which we have reasonable ground of assurance was delivered to the Church by our Lord and his Apostles, or with their sanction and authority. To those who heard them, and perhaps to some others, *all* which they delivered, as from God, came with equal authority, and formed, as a whole, the Rule of faith. And if oral tradition had been considered a safe conveyance for the truth, the truth would have been left to be so handed down to us. But such is not the case ; and the very fact, that the Apostles were careful to commit the doctrines of the Gospel to writing, shows that they considered them unsafe but in writing. And hence the Holy Scriptures are *to us* the sole Rule of faith, because they embrace all which we have reasonable ground of assurance was delivered to the Church by our Lord and his Apostles, or with their sanction and authority.

We receive the Apostolic traditions given to us in the Scriptures, because we have sufficient reason to consider them genuine ; we do *not* receive, as binding, statements pretended to be derived, through the tradition of the Fathers, from their oral teaching, because their genuineness is altogether incapable of proof. We do not reject them on the ground that we suspect the good faith of the Fathers, but because we know, that, in matters of doctrine, men are exceedingly liable to error in their representation of the opinions of others ; and also from the utter insufficiency and uncertainty of the documents remaining to us of the Antient Church, to establish anything like catholic consent ; and we may add, the insufficiency and uncertainty of the evidence afforded by even those that do remain, comparatively with what they ought to afford on the hypothesis of our opponents ; though at the same time we do not (as our opponents misrepresent us) regard what the Fathers have delivered to us



respecting the faith as useless ; but, on the contrary, that, properly used, it may be of considerable value.

But, by "the Rule of faith" we understand a testimony which shows us *infallibly* those doctrines which we are *bound by our duty to God* to receive ; and one which has such evidences of its divine origin, as make it binding upon the consciences of all men ; and of that Rule, therefore, nothing can form a part, which has not reasonable evidence of its being the word of God.

And if Holy Scripture is thus the sole infallible and authoritative Rule of faith, it follows, of course, that it is to its decision alone that we must appeal, as of absolute authority and infallible, in *controversies concerning the faith* ; and hence it is justly called the sole infallible *Judge of controversies of faith*, as being that which alone gives an infallible testimony on the subject. That it cannot *end* controversies, forms no valid objection to this appellation, for no mere testimony on the subject, however clear and definitive, could do that ; nothing in fact but a living Judge who has power to *silence* every dissentient from his sentence.

We say, also, that Holy Scripture is the sole infallible Rule of faith *to every individual* ; because, upon the very same grounds upon which our opponents admit the right and duty of private judgment in determining between the various forms of religion existing in the world, do we contend for the right and duty of private judgment in determining between the various meanings affixed by nominal Christians to the word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures. "Without private judgment," says Mr. Newman, "there is no responsibility ;" and to what individual or community among Christians, I would ask, can my responsibility to God as an individual, with what all grant to be his word in my hands, be transferred ? Is there anything besides Scripture that has power over the consciences of individuals ?

Nor does the case of an altogether illiterate person overthrow the truth of this as a general rule ; which our opponents may perhaps see, by asking themselves what they would do in the case of an illiterate Mohammedan ? Would they say, You must give up your religion and receive ours, because we are certainly right ; but we cannot allow you, as a very illiterate man, to



exercise your judgment upon the matter? He might at once reply, I have been told by those who, for aught I know, may be as good judges as you, that *my* religion is right; and, therefore, notwithstanding my disadvantages, I must make the best use I can of my private judgment, *and pray to God to direct me aright*; for as there is so much difference of opinion upon this matter, I cannot follow one guide blindfold, any more than the other. And this holds equally for a choice between the different meanings given to Scripture, as for a choice between the different religions existing in the world.

And this admission of the right of private judgment, be it observed, does not prevent any Church from excommunicating one who, in the view of that Church, errs obstinately in the fundamentals of the faith. They who excommunicate, and he who adheres to his error, both act on *their own responsibility*, neither of them, of necessity, pretending to infallibility, either through the possession of Patristical Tradition, or in any other way; but appealing primarily to the Scriptures, and through them to the great Head of the Church, as the Judge; an appeal which can only be decided at a future day. And when the Church becomes split into various parties of different sentiments, it *must* be left to the judgment of every individual to determine, *as well as he can*, as to their tenets and rival pretensions; a judgment which must be grounded upon the word of God in the Scriptures, as the only *divine* informant; though, in forming it, he may derive much help from the records of the Christian Church during the whole of its past course, particularly in the earlier period of it; while he takes care to remember the uncertainties and imperfections attending all informants but Scripture.

“If,” says Dean Sherlock, “you ask, whose judgment ought to take place, the judgment of the Church, or of every private Christian? I answer, The judgment of the Church of necessity must take place as to external government, to determine what shall be professed and practised in her communion; and no private Christian has anything to do in these matters. But when the question is, What is right or wrong, true or false, in what we may obey, and in what not, here *every pri-*

“*vate Christian* who will not believe without understanding, nor follow his guides blindfold, *must judge for himself*: and it is as much as his soul is worth to judge right.”<sup>1</sup>

We do not, then, be it observed, rest this truth upon any supposed *necessity* that God *must* have communicated his will to mankind, through the medium of writing; or that the Scriptures *must*, of necessity, contain this or that. Such reasoning appears presumptuous and unfounded. We take things as we find them, and reason accordingly. It is not for us to determine what it was necessary for God to do, or what he might do, and then suppose it to have been done, but to use the reason which God has given us, in ascertaining what he *has* done; and we thus find, that there is reasonable evidence that Scripture is his Word; and that there is no sufficient evidence for anything else being his Word.

If, then, the arguments given in the chapter on Patristical Tradition are a sufficient proof that such Tradition cannot be considered an unwritten Word of God, and consequently is not a sufficient foundation for faith to rest upon, the truth which we here advocate is by that admission (as far as our present subject is concerned) established.

And it follows from hence,

First, That the doctrines contained in Scripture, have an authoritative claim upon our faith, only *as far as they are there* revealed; and

Secondly, That no doctrine has any authoritative claim upon our faith, that is not revealed in Scripture.

These two corollaries we shall notice more particularly in our next chapter.

And in the same way it follows, that Scripture, being our sole divine informant, is also our *sole divinely-revealed Rule of practice*.

But the truth for which we here contend, does not rest on the arguments we have already adduced, as its sole foundation; and we shall now proceed to offer to the reader some further considerations respecting it.

<sup>1</sup> SHERLOCK's Discourse concerning a Judge of Controversies, pp. 11, 12.

I. On its true nature and extent.

II. The additional arguments by which it may be supported, with a reply to the objections by which it is assailed.

We shall first argue the question as to Scripture being the sole divine *Rule of faith and practice*, and then show that it is in like manner the sole infallible *Judge of controversies in religion*. Our remarks will more particularly refer to matters of *faith*, except where stated; these points forming the most important part of the inquiry.

I. First, then, as to the true *nature* and *extent* of this truth, that Scripture is the sole divine Rule of faith and practice.

We premise some remarks on this head, in order to guard against those misconceptions, and, I may add, misrepresentations of our views, which are so frequently to be met with.

Let it be observed, then, first, that it is not affirmed by us, that we have, in the Holy Scriptures, every thing that our Lord and his Apostles uttered; nor that what the Apostles delivered in writing, was of greater authority than what they delivered orally. It is undeniable, that we have not *all* that they delivered. St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, appears to allude to information which he had given them orally, and which he does not state in his writings. (2 Thess. ii. 5, 6.) It is likely that this might have been the case in some minor points. Nay, it is *possible*, that the Apostles may have given to some of their converts, on some occasion, a more full and luminous exposition of this or that doctrine, than what we find in Scripture. I will even add, that it is *possible*, that, as there has been a succession of God's people from the beginning, so the substance, or at least a portion of such additional matter, may have been propagated from one to another, and have thus come to the children of God of our own day, commended to the spiritual mind by its own light; but as far as regards any direct proof, or external evidence, of its Apostolical origin, utterly destitute of any such claim upon us; though I should rather, with Theodoret,<sup>1</sup> attribute any similarity of sentiment that has prevailed among the children of God on such points, to their having all been partakers of the influences of the same Spirit.

<sup>1</sup> See extracts from THEODORET, ch. 10. below.

But this we do affirm, that having *four* different accounts of "the Gospel of Jesus Christ," the last written for the very purpose of making the account complete,<sup>1</sup> and *above twenty* Epistles written by the Apostles to explain it still further, to say that anything at all important is omitted, is to cast a foul libel upon that Holy Spirit by which the Apostles were guided. We want no Fathers to tell us this; notwithstanding that Mr. Newman cannot even believe that Scripture *notices* even the *fundamentals* of the faith, but on the authority of the Fathers.<sup>2</sup>

And we add, that as there is nothing else entitled to be considered a divine informant, so there is nothing else that has authority to bind the conscience to a belief of what it delivers.

Holy Scripture, therefore, is *to us* the *perfect* or *complete* Rule of faith.

We speak not of any *abstract perfection*, such that nothing could be added to it that would throw additional light upon the doctrines of religion; for indeed it would not become us to attempt to pass any such judgment upon any revelation it might please God to afford us. But it is perfect in the sense of *entireness*. And of this sort of perfection only are we qualified to judge.

In determining, therefore, whether Scripture is such a Rule, we are not at all concerned with the inquiry, whether this or that doctrine is contained there, nor even whether the truths there delivered are revealed plainly or obscurely; for neither of these inquiries affects the solution of the question, which depends upon this, viz., whether Scripture is or is not our only divine informant. The perfection of the Rule *to us*, follows from the fact, that there is *no other*, nothing else that is entitled to the character of a divine and infallible Rule; and by this, therefore, *whatever it may be*, we *must* be guided. We say not, that it embraces everything which God might have revealed, nor even all which the Apostles did actually deliver,

<sup>1</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. iii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Romanism, &c. pp. 339, 40.



but that it includes all which we can know to be of divine revelation.

Nor let our opponents object, that it cannot be supposed, that any portion of what the Apostles delivered, could be allowed to perish from the remembrance of the Church ; for the reply is obvious, and one that is not at all flattering to their favourite hypothesis of the fidelity of Church-Tradition ; namely, that such things have unquestionably perished. For instance, where is the Church-Tradition from which we can learn, what it was that withheld the appearance of " the wicked one ?" (2 Thess. ii. 5, 6.) Where is the Tradition which delivers to us those things to which St. John alludes at the end of his Gospel ?

And this remark is a complete answer to the objection often made by the Romanists to Protestant views, namely, that we have a Rule of faith different from that of the earliest Christians, because theirs included more than what is delivered in the Scriptures ; for *this is equally true of the Popish Rule*, the Romanists themselves not pretending to know some things which, we are assured from Scripture, were delivered by the Apostles to their converts.

We do not deny, then, that there may be some particles of the gold of the sanctuary in the records of Christian Antiquity. And we subject those records to the test of Scripture, reason, and conscience, that we may, if possible, extract them. And we look to the aid of the Divine Spirit to help us in our inquiries. While certainly it is our belief, that such a process would show, that the gold bears very, very little proportion to the dross ; and that, to the great majority, such a search would be as unprofitable as laborious. There is danger, indeed, in the search to all ; for the same feelings and prejudices which originally caused the dross to accumulate, are still alive to operate in its favour, and make men often prefer it to the pure gold.

Here, then, is the great difference between us and our opponents, that we allow men to judge of that which comes to them by what is called Church-Tradition, by the light of Scrip-

ture, reason, and conscience, and do not allow it to assume the character of an unwritten Word of God, and so to bind the conscience to belief in whatever it may deliver. Our opponents will not allow us to judge of it, but only to be judged by it, and submit to it as a divine testimony.

Secondly, it is not affirmed, that those doctrines only are to be received, that are laid down in *express* terms in Scripture, but that those are to be received, that are *either* delivered there in *express* terms, or deducible by *necessary consequence*, apparent to reason, from its statements.

For instance, it is nowhere stated in *express* terms in Scripture, that the Holy Spirit is God, but the doctrine of his divinity follows by necessary consequence apparent to reason from the statements of Scripture. The same may be said of the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father.

Thirdly, the grievous misrepresentations of Romanists and Oxford Tract writers compel us to add what might otherwise have been thought to be unnecessary, viz., that when we speak of Scripture as the sole authoritative Rule of faith to every individual, we are as far as themselves from "seeming to allow," or being "in the way to allow," "that that is truth to each which each thinks to be truth, provided he sincerely and really thinks it, that the divinity of the Bible itself is the only thing that needs to be believed, and that its meaning varies with the individuals who receive it;"<sup>1</sup> or, again, from being desirous of "depriving" men of "all external means except the text of Holy Scripture,"<sup>2</sup> or thinking that "to inquire about the early Church, the consent of Fathers, &c. . . . or to make the primitive writers a comment upon the inspired text, are but melancholy and pernicious follies,"<sup>3</sup> or of "chiefly employing ourselves in assailing the Christian Fathers."<sup>4</sup> All these are representations which ultimately only recoil upon their authors, showing most forcibly the inherent weakness of their cause, when they are com-

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 35, and see pp. 201, 2.    <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 195.

pelled to attempt to make the reader believe, that the theory of the great body of their opponents is something very different from the reality, and will strongly remind those who know anything of the controversial writings of the Reformation of the Popish artifices of that period. The cause of all this misrepresentation is simply this, that we affirm, that Scripture is our only divine informant, and therefore of course esteem Scripture as much above everything else as that which is divine is above that which is human. But we do not reject as valueless, but on the contrary attach considerable value to, the writings of God's saints who lived in former times, knowing that, among much of all kinds, we may meet with much in which we may trace the footsteps of that Divine Spirit, whose gifts are bestowed at his pleasure for the edification of the Church; and we look up to Him who is promised as the Teacher of all the children of God, to enable us to separate the precious from the vile, receiving all as coming from the mouth of fallible witnesses.

And, lastly, in reply to every question as to what we mean by saying that Scripture is such a Rule of faith *to every individual*, we mean, that it is so to every individual who is conscious of the existence of the Scriptures and able to become acquainted with them, and is of an age and a state of mind to be responsible to God for believing what God has revealed. Every such person is bound by his duty to God to ascertain, as far as he is able, that what he may have been previously taught by man is accordant with that which God has there revealed; and if there appears to him to be any discordance between the two, to believe God's own words rather than those of men, seeing that he is responsible not to man but to God.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How completely the true uses and just claims of Holy Scripture are ignored by our opponents, may be seen by the remark offered on this passage by one of them. (See Brit. Crit. for July 1842.) The statement I have made above is considered to be a most incorrect one. If I am speaking of the *religious*, it is said, the child that has been brought up in the belief of, for instance, the doctrine of the Trinity, and received it, must have, when he comes to years of responsibility, "far more intimate grounds of belief in it than a collation of Scripture texts;" as if it was not absolutely necessary, that a rational faith in that



Any arguments, therefore, derived from the absurdity of placing the Bible in the hands of a child for him to draw out a system of truth from it, or from the case of those who may be prevented by peculiar circumstances from consulting or understanding the Scriptures, fall quite wide of the mark. Such arguments evidently prove nothing, because it is clearly quite a *possible* case, at any rate, that God should have made the Scriptures such a Rule, and our only divine informant, and we cannot argue from our supposed consequences of such a state of things that God has not done so. Nor is there any reason why we should imagine, that the statements of either the Fathers, the Church, or the Pope, are an infallible Rule of Faith, or any part of it, *because* children and clowns may need guidance to point out the true faith in Scripture. The disadvantages under which some may labour in this respect, can be no proof that Tradition is to be depended upon, or that Scripture is obscure. You will have to *teach* a child or a clown, by more or less of *explanation*, that things that are equal to the same are equal to one another; while I suppose no man will deny, that if this proposition was in the Bible as a point of faith, the Bible could not be accused of obscurity,

doctrine, in an adult, should be supported by a conviction, that it is a doctrine of Holy Scripture, without which men would be left at the mercy of any teaching in which they had happened to be brought up. But if I am speaking of the *irreligious*, the writer cannot imagine, that such a person, "on first turning to God," "should ever dream of criticizing, under ordinary cases, *the system in which he finds himself*, or in any case putting even the slightest confidence in the *primâ facie* appearance which the word of an all-holy God presents to a miserable sinner like himself." As if the word of God was not addressed to sinners! And so, according to this writer, the convinced sinner is not to go to Scripture to see what God himself has said, but resign himself to "*the system in which he finds himself*," to learn God's will from it. It is difficult to say, whether Scripture or reason is the most dishonoured by such a sentiment. The writer adds, "What a strange, unreal, unpractical form of words is this unhappy theory!" Alas! how little does he perceive the insight which he thus gives us into his own state of mind, and his utter unconsciousness of the blessed effects of communing with God in his own word, and receiving as from his mouth the merciful invitations, promises, and exhortations of his word! The "unhappy theory" is that which would feed men upon the chaff and husks of human systems, instead of the wheat of God's word.



or be said to want Tradition to interpret its meaning, and be taxed with imperfection as a Rule of faith, in this point. A Newton may want assistance, as a child, to enable him to understand the most simple propositions, but it follows not, that he is to be dictated to in mature age by one who taught him the alphabet.

Such objections are most vain and foolish. They do not touch the point at issue.

I now proceed, then, to point out—

II. The additional arguments by which the view here taken may be established, with a reply to the objections by which it is assailed. And—

(1) Let us observe the arguments and objections derived from Scripture itself on this point.

Now, here I admit at once, that there is no passage of the New Testament precisely stating, that the Christian Rule of faith is limited to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and for the best of all reasons, viz., that such a statement would, *at that time*, (i. e., during the publication of the books of the New Testament,) have been utterly inapplicable to the circumstances of the infant Church, and untrue. For a little time there were no Scriptures of the New Testament, and the Scriptures which we possess were gradually written, and did not at once find their way into the whole Christian Church, and no one ever dreamed that the oral instructions of the Apostles were not, to those who heard them, as authoritative as their writings. They among whom the Scriptures were originally promulgated had been themselves hearers,—that is, very many of them,—of our Lord and his Apostles, and, *to them*, the unwritten word was as authoritative as the written. Consequently such a statement could only have been made as a *prospective* announcement, applicable only to a subsequent period of the Church. Was it, then, to be expected, was it, indeed, possible, that the Apostles should precisely fix the period at which, or the persons to whom, their writings would be the sole infallible Rule of faith, when, with the earliest Christians, it would evidently depend very much upon situation and circumstances, how far this was the case?

But though we have not, and were not likely to have, such an announcement in Scripture, we have there what may answer as well, the determination of a parallel case, viz., that of the Jews at the time of our Lord's incarnation. We learn clearly from Scripture, that the Canon of the Old Testament was to them at that time (the divine voice being no longer heard among them) the sole Rule of faith; and that the traditions of the Fathers, notwithstanding their pretended divine origin, were not worthy of being considered the Word of God.

That the Scriptures of the Old Testament were to the Jews of that period the sole authoritative Rule of faith, we have, I conceive, very sufficient testimony in Scripture. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, our Lord himself evidently refers to them as bearing that character, when he makes Abraham reply to the rich man begging for some messenger to be sent to instruct his brethren on earth; "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." (Luke xvi. 29.) And still more clearly, in his reply to the lawyer who asked him, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" "He said unto him, What is written in the law? How readest thou?" (Luke x. 25, 6.) And so in the scene of temptation in the wilderness, he meets the tempter at every turn with the written word as his guide and rule. (Matt. iv. 1—10.) Further; to them and to them alone our Lord constantly appealed, in proof of the truth of his doctrine, as *the* rule of judgment. "Search the Scriptures." (John v. 39.) "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures." (Matt. xxii. 29.) And so far from appealing to or even recognising any "tradition," he (as we have seen) only mentions traditions in the way of rebuke. See Mark vii. 1—13, where the "commandment of God" and "the word of God" are identified with Scripture, and put in opposition to the "traditions" of the Pharisees, which are called *without distinction* "the commandments of men." Now the authority claimed for these "traditions" stood upon a foundation precisely similar to that upon which the supposed authority of the "traditions" of the Christian Church rests. The one were said to have been handed down from the oral teaching of Moses,

through the "elders," or, as we should say, Fathers. The other are said to be derived from the oral teaching of the Apostles, by a similar mode of conveyance.

Moreover, it is evident from the whole of our Lord's teaching, that in his references to Scripture he appealed to the conscience of individuals as the interpreter of Scripture, and willed them to judge of the meaning of Scripture, not by "tradition," or any other pretended authority, but by their own reason and conscience. And they alone who did so could receive him, for Tradition and the Church, in our opponents' sense of the words, were against him; and they who followed these guides, stifled inquiry with the observation, "Have any of the rulers or Pharisees believed on him?" The doctrine of those who adopted these guides, was precisely that of our opponents; and notwithstanding the warnings of reason and conscience, they waited till the authorities of the Church, the keepers of Scripture and witnesses of Tradition, should declare in his favour, and spoke of those who exercised the right of private judgment exactly as our opponents do now. And the consequence was, that they rejected our blessed Lord himself. The voice of "the Church" was altogether against him; and that, with them, was conclusive.

Still further, the Apostles refer to the Scriptures of the Old Testament so as evidently to show, that they recognised them as bearing this character. Observe the constant references made to them by St. Paul as the Rule of faith. "What saith the Scripture?" (Rom. iv. 3, xi. 2; Gal. iv. 30.) And when he argued with the Jews, he "reasoned with them out of the Scriptures." (Acts xvii. 2.) And when pleading his cause before Felix, he gives this summary of his creed, that he "believed all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets." (Acts xxiv. 14.) And the Bereans are praised by St. Luke for referring to the Scriptures of the Old Testament as their rule of judgment, by which to try the preaching of St. Paul. (Acts xvii. 11.)

Lastly, as a full and irrefragable testimony to this truth, let us mark what St. Paul says to Timothy on this subject.



“ Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and  
 “ hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned  
 “ them, and that from a child thou hast known the Holy  
 “ Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation  
 “ through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is  
 “ given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine,  
 “ for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness,  
 “ that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished  
 “ unto all good works.” (2 Tim. iii. 14—16.)

We thus find, then, that though there is no direct testimony in the Old Testament to its perfection as the sole infallible Rule of faith to the Jews in the time of our Lord, such assuredly it was, and that for the same reason that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are so to us, namely, that through the uncertainty of Tradition there was nothing else which had any sufficient evidence of its being the word of God. For it might have been said then of the Old Testament, as it is now of the New, What is here written is not all that Moses and the prophets delivered, and therefore if we refuse to receive the traditions of the elders, we shall be rejecting part of what God has revealed, and making to ourselves a different Rule of faith from what our forefathers had. But that the objection was worthless, is clear from the declarations of our Lord and his Apostles which we have just quoted.

As, then, in the time of our Lord, the Canon of the Old Testament was the sole Rule of faith *to the Jews*, notwithstanding that those who had been *contemporary* with the authors of the Old Testament Scriptures *might* have heard from them some other things of *minor* importance, which therefore entered into *their* Rule of faith as derived from the same source with the Scriptures; so *to us* the Canon of Holy Scripture is the sole Rule of faith, notwithstanding that those who were contemporary with the Apostles might have received from them some statements of minor importance, which came to them with an authority equal to that possessed by the Scriptures.

And if it is the sole Rule of faith, it follows, that it is the sole divine Rule of practice, the Rule of faith being co-extensive with divine revelation.



Further, it is to be considered, that the Gospel was not a revelation *altogether* new, being, in all its great features at least, only a development of the types and prophecies of the Old Testament, where the language of the inspired writers of the New Testament leads us to recognise a very full adumbration of its whole doctrine. Thus, St. Paul describes himself to Felix as believing all things written in the law and the prophets, with a manifest reference to his Christian faith, (Acts xxiv. 14.), and when arguing with the Jews, he reasoned with them out of those Scriptures, (Acts xvii. 2.), and says, that the revelation of the mystery of God in the Gospel is “*by the Scriptures of the prophets*, according to the commandment of “the everlasting God, *made known* to all nations for the obedience of faith.” (Rom. xvi. 26.)<sup>1</sup> And the Bereans are praised by St. Luke for *judging* the doctrines preached by the Apostle Paul by the Scriptures of the Old Testament. (Acts xvii. 11.)

Consequently, we have, even in the Old Testament, an adumbratory representation of all the great truths of the Gospel. Are we, then, to suppose, that when besides this we have four different accounts of the doctrines and precepts which our Lord delivered while on earth, and above twenty epistles by the Apostles to different churches, that we must still go beyond the Scriptures to find any important truth?

Be it observed, also, from the passage we have just quoted from St. Paul’s 2d Epistle to Timothy, how perfect the Canon

<sup>1</sup> It is supposed by Whithy, that the Scriptures of the Prophets here mentioned are the Scriptures of the Prophets of the New Testament; and he refers to Eph. iii. 6. in corroboration of this interpretation, where it is said, that the mystery of the gospel was “not in other ages made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles *and prophets* by the Spirit,” where, evidently, the *prophets* mentioned are those of the New Testament. But I confess, though the interpretation is possible, and would afford strong evidence in favour of the view for which we are here contending, I cannot bring myself to think, that such was the meaning of the Apostle, but that he rather had in view the prophetic Scriptures of the Old Testament, which formed the groundwork as it were of the preaching of the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity, as we see illustrated both in the Apostolical Scriptures and the Epistle of Clement.

of the Old Testament was considered to be as a Rule both of faith and practice, even sufficient to render the man of God perfect, and throughly to furnish him to all good works. Is not, then, the Canon of the New Testament sufficient to supply such information respecting the religion adumbrated in the Old Testament, as to render *the two Testaments together* as sufficient to us as the Old was to Timothy?

But, to all such considerations, our opponents seem to think, that they have a ready answer, for they say, that Scripture itself is in favour of their doctrine of Tradition. I shall now, then, proceed to consider the passages adduced by them in proof of this assertion, and show how utterly destitute of foundation is the argument so raised.

This argument is insisted upon more particularly by Mr. Keble, whose sermon is written, indeed, for the purpose of enforcing it. I need hardly say, that the texts he has chosen in support of it are precisely those which Bellarmine<sup>1</sup> and the Romanists adduce for the same purpose; and it is somewhat strange, that the arguments by which the applicability of these texts to such a purpose has been over and over again disproved by some of the most able divines of our Church, are entirely unnoticed, and the statements of Rome, even to the *petitio principii* upon which they are nearly all founded, repeated almost *verbatim*.

The passages chiefly insisted upon are of course those in the Epistles to Timothy. "That good thing which was committed unto thee (τὴν καλὴν παρακατάθεσιν), keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." (2 Tim. i. 14.) "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." (2 Tim. ii. 2.) "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust." (1 Tim. vi. 20.)<sup>2</sup>

The first of these passages forms Mr. Keble's text, and the first thing he endeavours to prove is, that "the good thing

<sup>1</sup> BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See KEBLE's Sermon, pp. 5, 22, and 49.

left in Timothy's charge" "was the treasure of Apostolical doctrines and *church rules*: the rules and doctrines which made up the charter of Christ's kingdom." (p. 20.) Now, that it comprised the fundamentals of the faith is at once granted, but as to its being "the treasure of Apostolical doctrines and church rules," in the sense in which Mr. Keble has afterwards explained these words, viz., that it "contained, "besides the substance of Christian doctrine, a *certain form, arrangement, selection, methodizing the whole, and distinguishing fundamentals, and also a certain system of church practice, both in government, discipline, and worship*;" and was "something so *wholly sufficient*, so unexceptionably accurate, as to "require nothing but fidelity in its transmitters," (p. 21,) such a notion is a pure fiction of the imagination, utterly unsupported by Scripture, or by the Fathers, who speak of this deposit (as Mr. Keble himself admits) as meaning "the *truths* committed by St. Paul to Timothy;" "the deposit of the *faith*;" (Jerome) "the Catholic *faith*;" (Vine. Lir.).<sup>1</sup> And this seems clearly to follow from the context of these passages. For in the first the "deposit" is mentioned immediately after the Apostle had exhorted Timothy, "hold fast the form of [those] *sound words* which thou hast heard of me;" and the last, with the context, runs thus, "Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning *the faith*."

When, therefore, Mr. Keble says, "Upon the whole we may assume, *with some confidence*, that the good thing left in Timothy's charge" was what we have above quoted from him, he is doing what we have but too often to lament in this controversy, "assuming *with some confidence*" what he has not the slightest right to assume at all, and what both Scripture and Fathers are opposed to; and this interpretation, so "assumed with *some confidence*" and *no reason*, serves him afterwards in great stead. For, as it is evident, that we have not in Scripture such an "arrangement, selection, methodizing the

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE's Sermon. pp. 18, 19.



“ whole, and distinguishing fundamentals, and also a certain “ system of church practice, both in government, discipline, “ and worship,” it enables him to jump to the conclusion, that Timothy’s deposit embraced much more than we have in Scripture, when, judging both from Scripture and the language of the Fathers, the probability is, that it contained much less. And as Timothy was exhorted to keep it safely, so the more Mr. Keble can make it include, the more imperfect will Scripture appear to be, and the more important that Patristical Tradition which professes to hand this deposit down to us. And the great reason why Mr. Keble wants it is, that, like Bel-larmine, he separates the sense of Scripture from Scripture, and makes Scripture and its meaning two different things, as if Scripture was so obscure that it could not be understood without Patristical Tradition.

As to the precise amount, however, which it contained, we can safely allow Mr. Keble’s imagination (which in other subjects we highly value) to have some little scope, and will willingly give him the fundamentals both of faith and worship, if only he will allow us to make use of our reason to consider how far Patristical Tradition is either *wanted* or to be *trusted* for conveying to us this “deposit.” But all the speciousness of Mr. Keble’s arguments from these and similar passages of Scripture, is derived from his assuming the very point in question, i.e., the trustworthiness of Patristical Tradition, for all his arguments amount merely to this, that because the Apostles told their converts to recollect, and act according to, all which they had delivered to them by word as well as writing, therefore we are to believe, and act according to, all that a few Fathers of the Church have reported to us as derived from their oral teaching, or even as the doctrine of the Church in their time, because such doctrine must be considered the doctrine of the Apostles. In a word, because the Church, in the Apostolic age, received as divinely-inspired the oral instructions of the Apostles ; therefore we are to receive the Patristical report of those traditions as an infallible and divine informant. “The holy writings themselves intimate,” says



Mr. Keble, "that the persons to whom they were addressed "were in possession of a body of truth and duty totally distinct "from themselves, and independent of them." (pp. 21, 2.) Of course they were ; and for the simple reason, that the Apostles preached and formed a church before they wrote. But what then ? "Timothy, for instance," he adds, "a few verses after "the text, is enjoined to take measures for the transmission, "not of Holy Scripture, but of the things which he had heard of "St. Paul, among many witnesses." How, let me ask, *could* he transmit what in all probability he had not ? And when, in a subsequent page, he intimates, that because Timothy was exhorted to "keep that committed to his charge," we are thereby warned to keep what Patristical *Tradition* has delivered to us,<sup>1</sup> he is unworthily assuming the very point in question.

There is one point, however, in which I fully agree with him ; and that is, where, after several pages of proof, he "ventures to assume," "from the nature of the case, the incidental testimony of Scripture, and the direct assertions of the Fathers," that it was "an *unwritten* system" which St. Paul spoke of, when he "so earnestly recommended the deposit ;"<sup>2</sup> for nothing can be more certain, than that the Gospel, before it was written, was unwritten ; and, as Mr. Keble himself tells us, "the time 'spoken of was not the time when St. Paul was writing, but "when Timothy *received his charge*."<sup>3</sup>

To sum up all, then, in one word, what Mr. Keble and the Romanists have got to prove, before they can in any way avail themselves of these passages, is, (1) that Timothy's deposit embraced something of importance not in Scripture ; and (2) that Patristical Tradition is an infallible informant as to what that deposit was ; which are precisely the two points "assumed with some confidence," with scarcely an attempt at a proof.

Before, however, Mr. Keble attempts to prove the former of these two points, let me commend to his consideration the following passage of Tertullian, showing *his* opinion on the matter.

These passages, it seems, were quoted by some heretics in

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE'S Serm. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. pp. 115, 116.

Tertullian's time, to prove *their traditions*,—and they inferred from them, that there were some things which were committed by the Apostles to a few only of their more trustworthy converts, and not preached openly to all; and that such was the *deposit* committed to Timothy, spoken of in these passages. But, says Tertullian, “What is this secret deposit, that it should be reckoned as a different doctrine? Was it of that charge, of which he says, ‘This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy?’ [1 Tim. i. 18.] Likewise of that commandment of which he says, ‘I charge thee in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment?’ [1 Tim. vi. 13.] But what is this commandment, and what this charge? It will be seen from the context, that there is no allusion in this phrase to any secret doctrine. . . . Neither, moreover, because he admonishes him to ‘commit these things to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also,’ [2 Tim. ii. 2,] is that to be interpreted as a proof of any hidden gospel: for when he says ‘*these things*,’ he speaks of **THOSE THINGS OF WHICH HE WAS THEN WRITING**; but of hidden things he would have said, as of things absent, in the remembrance of Timothy, not ‘*these things*,’ but ‘*those things*.’”<sup>1</sup>

This passage of Tertullian, then, will, I hope, somewhat shake Mr. Keble's “confidence” in his own interpretation of the text in question.

Another of the passages brought forward by our opponents<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Quod hoc depositum est tacitum, ut alteri doctrinæ deputetur? An illius denuntiationis, de qua ait, Hanc denuntiationem commendo apud te, fili Timothee. Item illius præcepti, de quo ait; Denuntio tibi ante Deum qui vivificat omnia, et Jesum Christum qui testatus est sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem, custodias præceptum. Quod hoc præceptum et quæ denuntiatio? Ex supra et infra scriptis intelligetur non nescio quid subostendi hoc dicto de remotiore doctrina . . . Sed nec quia voluit illum hæc fidelibus hominibus demandare, qui idonei sint et alios docere, id quoque ad argumentum occulti alicujus Evangelii interpretandum est. Nam cum dicit, hæc, de eis dicit de quibus in præsentem scribebat: de occultis autem, ut de absentibus apud conscientiam, non hæc, sed illa dixisset.” TERTULL. De Præser. c. 25. Op. ed. 1664. p. 210, 211.

<sup>2</sup> See KEBLE's Serm. p. 22.

in support of their views, is that in 2 Thess. ii. 15. "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle." And I will venture to say, that, beyond the occurrence of the word "traditions" in it, there is not a pretext for so applying it. The Epistles to the Thessalonians, we must observe, were, with the exception *possibly* of St. Matthew's Gospel, the first written of all the books of the New Testament. And St. Matthew's Gospel was written more especially, in the first instance, for the use of the Jewish converts. Consequently the Thessalonians had, at the time when these Epistles were addressed to them, no other books of the New Testament. And of this Mr. Keble is fully conscious; for he says, when mentioning this text, "They could not be exhorted to hold the Christian Scriptures, since at that time, in all probability, no Christian Scriptures yet existed, except perhaps St. Matthew's Gospel." (p. 22.) Much, therefore, at least, that we learn from the Scriptures, must have been communicated orally to the Thessalonians by the Apostle; as, for instance, the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They had no Scriptures professing to give them an account of our Lord's Gospel. And these were traditions which they had themselves received from the mouth of the Apostle himself. And who denies, that the oral teaching of the Apostles was of equal authority with their writings? So that the argument from this passage runs thus,—Because the Thessalonians, when destitute of the Scriptures, were exhorted by the Apostles to observe all things that he had himself delivered to them, either orally or by letter, therefore we, possessing the Scriptures, are to conclude, that there are important points of Apostolical teaching not delivered to us anywhere in all the various books of the New Testament, and are bound to receive Patristical Tradition as an infallible informant on such points. Now the chief question at issue is, whether we have that oral teaching, in any shape in which we can depend upon it, in the writings of the Fathers. And yet, in a subsequent page (p. 47), Mr. Keble applies this passage to the present day, as coolly and



unhesitatingly as if we were precisely in the situation of the Thessalonians, and had been ourselves hearers of the Apostles, and received from them instructions not contained in Scripture.

To make this passage *at all* suitable to their purpose, they must show, that there was something important in the oral teaching of the Apostles, which is not to be found in any of the books of the New Testament ; a notion, against which we can array the whole body of the Fathers ; (of which it is apparent from Mr. Newman's thirteenth Lecture that our opponents are fully conscious ; although they attempt to get over the difficulty, by asserting, that, though all things essential are there, yet they are there so *latently*, that we cannot find them, until Patristical Tradition has pointed them out ;) or at least they must prove, that the Patristical report we possess of the oral traditions of the Apostles, is an informant sufficiently certain to bind the conscience to belief.

The same answer will suffice for a similar passage in a subsequent part of the Epistle, viz., 2 Thess. iii. 6.

Mr. Keble proceeds to cite two other passages in support of his view.

" Much later," he says, " we find St. Peter declaring to the whole body of Oriental Christians, that in neither of his Epistles did he profess to reveal to them any new truth or duty, but to ' stir up their minds, by way of remembrance of the commandment of the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour.' (2 Pet. iii. 1.) St. John refers believers for a standard of doctrine, to the word which they had heard from the beginning, (1 John ii. 24,) and intimates, that it was sufficient for their Christian communion, if that word abode in them. If the word, the commandment, the tradition, which the latest of these holy writers severally commend in these and similar passages, meant only or chiefly the Scriptures before written, would there not appear a more significant mention of those Scriptures : something nearer the tone of our own divines, when they are delivering precepts on the Rule of faith ? As it is, the phraseology of



“ the Epistles exactly concurs with what we should be led to expect ; that the Church would be already in possession of “ the substance of saving truth, in a sufficiently systematic “ form, by the sole teaching of the Apostles.” (pp. 22, 23.)

I have given the passage in full, to show the reader precisely Mr. Keble’s mode of reasoning upon these texts ; and one is almost tempted to ask, Can the writer be serious in making these observations, or is he sarcastically showing how utterly destitute of evidence is the cause he professes to defend ? St. Peter and St. John (says Mr. Keble) refer Christians of their age to the commandments and instructions which they had received orally from the Apostles, and did not say to them, directly one or two books of Scripture had been written, (which they might or might not possess,) you must forget all which the Apostles told you, and be careful to believe nothing but what you find written in one or two books which have been published by the Apostles, which you must get *if you can* ; and *therefore* we, who have all the books of the New Testament, including four accounts of the Gospel, who have never had any instructions from the Apostles, and are at the distance of eighteen centuries from them, are to take the Patristical report of their oral traditions as binding our consciences to belief. Such an argument, I must say, carries with it much more than its own refutation.

There remain a few other passages, which are sometimes adduced by the Romanists on this subject, which it may be well to notice before we pass on ; but they are precisely similar in character to that given above from the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and need no other explanation than what has been given for that. Thus, the Apostle says to the Corinthians, “ I praise you brethren, that ye remember me in all “ things, and keep the ordinances, [*παράδοσεις, traditions*] as I “ delivered them to you.” (1 Cor. xi. 2.) Well ; what were these traditions ? Were they anything more than what we have in Scripture ; and if they did include more, where is the informant who will certify us of them ? Resolve these two questions, and then proceed to apply the passage accordingly ; but until these questions are satisfactorily resolved, the passage

will prove no more than that the Corinthians did right in following the precepts which the Apostle had given them, which nobody doubts. And we may observe, that the Apostle has told us, in a subsequent part of the same chapter, what one of these traditions was, viz., the institution of the Lord's Supper (See ver. 23 et seq.) ; and thus we see, that the only one of these traditions which is mentioned, *we* have (as we might expect) in the Scriptures of the Evangelists.

Again, the Apostle says, " If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God." (Ib. ver. 16.) Now, to make this observation practically applicable to our times, we must have satisfactory evidence, what the customs of the Church when under the superintendence of the Apostles were ; and to make these customs binding upon the Church of our day, we must know, that they were intended to be binding upon subsequent ages. I suspect, therefore, that the utmost we shall be able to get from the passage, (and certainly an important and useful admonition, and one which it were to be wished had been more attended to by many,) is, that the peace of the Church ought not to be disturbed by individuals for the sake of their private fancies, in matters of external order not involving anything unlawful ; but that the custom of " the churches of God " ought to be followed.

Moreover, the Apostle, further on in the same chapter, says, " The rest will I set in order when I come," (v. 34.) so that he might have given some directions which we do not find in his Epistle ; and, of course, it is most conveniently assumed, that these unwritten directions comprised a great deal of important matter respecting ordination and the sacraments, to be met with nowhere in Scripture, "*neither*," says Bellarmine, "*can the heretics prove the contrary*." This closing challenge to us to *prove the contrary*, is certainly somewhat amusing ; but the learned controversialist should have recollected, that it is a two-edged weapon, for *we* can just as well shape out St. Paul's " ordering " to *our* liking, and say that it had reference only to some minor points, and then add, " neither

can the Romanists prove the contrary," and then the balance will be even; nay, I think it will incline in our favour, for the burthen of proof *does* rest upon those who assert, that it had reference to important points not mentioned in any part of the New Testament, and a still further and equally weighty burthen of proof in behalf of the *preservation* of those directions.

Lastly, St. John says, "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write with paper and ink; but I trust to come unto you, and speak face to face." (2 John 12, and similarly, 3 John 13—14.) "Hence," says Bellarmine, "many things were spoken by the Apostle which are not written." No doubt there were; and when any one can certify us what they were, we are ready to receive them with reverence and delight.

These, as far as I am aware, are all the texts usually produced in support of the views of our opponents, and certainly they are all that need any answer.

With respect, then, to all these passages, I would commend to Mr. Keble's and the reader's perusal, the passage with which the former has himself supplied us from Bishop Taylor; of whom, notwithstanding all that he has written against such notions, Mr. Keble would fain make us believe, that he was on his side of the question.

"Because," says the bishop, "the books of Scripture were not all written at once, nor at once communicated, nor at once received; therefore the churches of God, at first, were forced to trust their memories, and to try the doctrines by appealing to the memories of others, *i. e.*, to the consenting report and faith delivered and preached to other churches, especially the chiefest, where the memory of the Apostles was recent and permanent. The mysteriousness of Christ's priesthood, the perfection of his sacrifice, and the unity of it, Christ's advocacy and intercession for us in heaven, might very well be accounted traditions before St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was admitted for canonical; but now they are written truths, and IF THEY HAD NOT BEEN WRIT-



“TEN, IT IS LIKELY WE SHOULD HAVE LOST THEM. But  
“this way could not long be necessary, and COULD NOT LONG  
“BE SAFE.”<sup>1</sup>

This is precisely that for which we contend, that though, in the Apostolic age, before the Scriptures were written or in circulation in the Church, and where men had been instructed by the oral teaching of the Apostles themselves, or their immediate disciples under the sanction of the Apostles, those oral instructions connected with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and what Scriptures of the New were accessible, formed the Rule of faith, yet that the mode of conveying those oral instructions, through a successional delivery by fallible men, “could not long be safe.” We are not obliged precisely to fix the time when, or the persons to whom, this observation first applied. Circumstances might render it applicable in some cases earlier than in others. All with which we are practically concerned is our own case; and, with respect to that, we contend, that we are left utterly destitute of any sufficient evidence to substantiate to us any doctrine or statement of the Apostles but what we find in Scripture. We are removed eighteen centuries from them, and for the traditions of the first three centuries, we have but the scanty, mutilated, and probably in some respects corrupted, remains of some dozen writers, united with some notoriously spurious liturgies. Where, then, I would ask, are the materials from which to extract any thing that could be received as the *catholic consent* of that period? Nay, the *earliest* Fathers themselves did not (as we have seen) plead even the consent of the principal churches in proof of anything but a few of the primary and most elementary principles of the faith. Tradition, therefore, was not even *then* appealed to as it is by our opponents *now*, sixteen centuries later.

Let us now proceed to notice,

(2) The arguments and objections which may be derived from the *nature* and *character* of the Scriptures of the New Testament as it respects the *object* for which they were written.

<sup>1</sup> JER. TAYLOR'S Works, x. 425. (KEBLE'S Sermon. p. 118.)



On this head the Romanists have much to urge, showing, as they think, that the Scriptures were never intended to form the Rule of faith. Thus, Bellarmine says, that if the Apostles had designed to commit their doctrine to writing, they would have composed a catechism or some similar book; but they either wrote a history, as the Evangelists, or Epistles, as occasion offered, as Peter, Paul, James, Jude, and John, and in them treated of doctrine only incidentally.<sup>1</sup>

What may be the precise view taken by our opponents on this point, I feel it difficult exactly to determine; for while they seem to wish it to be thought, that they do not sympathize with the views of the Romanists on this point, the difference seems to me to be more apparent than real, and the *appearance* of it to arise from their misconception of the real sentiments of the Romanists. Nay, more, when Mr. Newman sums up the objections of the Romanists on this ground, he mentions, among them, several which, though he here attributes them to others, from whom he would have us suppose that he differs, he has himself in other parts of the same work distinctly maintained. There is, indeed, in *the language* used by our opponents on this whole subject, a most extraordinary degree of confusion and inconsistency, arising from a desire to draw a distinction between their views and those of the Romanists which does not exist.

Mr. Newman says, "They [*i. e.* the Romanists] observe, it " [the New Testament] is but an incomplete document on the " very face of it. There is no harmony or consistency in its " parts. [Do the Romanists maintain this?] There is no " code of commandments, no list of fundamentals. It comprises four lives of Christ, written for different portions of " the Church, and not tending to make up one whole. Then " follow epistles written to particular Churches on particular " occasions, and preserved (as far as there can be accident in " the world) accidentally. Some books, as the Epistle to the " Laodiceans, are altogether lost; others are preserved only in " a translation, as perhaps the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the

<sup>1</sup> BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, lib. 4. c. 4.

“ Epistle to the Hebrews ; some delivered down with barely  
 “ sufficient evidence for their genuineness, as the second Epistle  
 “ of St. Peter. Nor were they generally received as one volume  
 “ till the fourth century. These are disproofs, it may be said,  
 “ of any intention, either in the course of Providence, or in  
 “ the writers, that the very books of Scripture, though in-  
 “ spired, should be *the* Canon of faith, that is, that they should  
 “ bound and complete it. Also, the office of the Church, as  
 “ the ‘keeper of Holy Writ,’ seems to make it probable, that  
 “ she was intended to interpret, perhaps to supply, what Scrip-  
 “ ture left irregular and incomplete. On the other hand, the  
 “ circumstance that religious truths can be conveyed by ordi-  
 “ nances, or by catholic tradition, as well as by writing, seems  
 “ an intimation, that there is such a second Rule of Faith,  
 “ equally authoritative and binding with Scripture itself.”  
 (pp. 336, 7.)

Now, I feel obliged to ask, whether some, at least, of these  
 objections do not represent Mr. Newman’s own views as set  
 forth in the same work ? And does he not distinctly advocate  
 the conclusion, that Scripture is not “ *the* Canon of faith ?”  
 Hear his own words in a preceding page. “ The phrase ‘ Rule  
 “ of faith,’ which is now commonly taken to mean the Bible by  
 “ itself, would seem, in the judgment of the English Church,  
 “ properly to belong to the Bible and Catholic Tradition taken  
 “ together. *These two together make up a joint Rule.*” (p. 327.)  
 And as we have already shown, the view advocated by him and  
 Mr. Keble, is, that the two make a joint Rule in the necessary  
 points of faith, and in some others Tradition forms the Rule  
 by itself, *i. e.* is, in fact, “ a second Rule of faith,” and one  
 “ equally authoritative and binding with Scripture itself ;” for,  
 as Mr. Keble tells us, “ the unwritten word, if it can be any  
 “ how authenticated, [and the supposition is, that it can,] must  
 “ necessarily demand the same reverence from us [*i. e.* as the  
 “ written Word].” (p. 26.)

Turn we now, however, (for we should be sorry that any  
 part of the case should be kept back,) to p. 346, and there, to  
 our utter amazement, we find, in reply to these statements

of the Romanists, a professed defence of the truth, that Scripture is "the sole Canon of our faith."

Here, then, Mr. Newman has, in his desire to appear opposed to the Romanists, directly and in terms contradicted himself.

But he proceeds to prove this; and his first proof, that Scripture is "the sole Canon of our faith," is derived from three "peculiarities" distinguishing it from the "unwritten word" of the Apostles. First, that "the New Testament is commonly called a testament or will," and that "*Testaments are necessarily written*," which is about as unfortunate a remark as any we have yet had to notice. Has Mr. Newman, then, never heard of a nuncupative will? But if he had observed, that nuncupative wills had always been found liable to many *frauds and impositions*, and therefore that it was likely that such a will should be, through God's mercy, *written*, in order to guard against such *frauds and impositions*, there would have been much force in the remark. His conclusion from this, however, is as follows,—that, "granting Tradition "and Scripture to come from the Apostles, it does not therefore follow, that their written word was not, under God's "over-ruling guidance, designed for a *particular purpose*, for "which their word unwritten was not designed;" (p. 346;) which seems to me a conclusion which falls far short of the premises, when it is asserted, that Testaments must necessarily be written; for it might be supposed from that, not merely that the written word was designed to serve a "*particular purpose*," for which the word unwritten was not designed, but that it was absolutely the sole and whole Rule of faith.

The second peculiarity is, that Scripture only is inspired, that is as to the *words*, while Tradition is only so as to its *substance*. (pp. 346, 7; and see Mr. Keble, p. 107.) The "third peculiarity" is, that "Scripture alone contains what remains to us of our Lord's teaching." (p. 347.)

On the ground, then, of these three *peculiarities*, it is contended, that Scripture is "the sole Canon of our faith;" while it is at the same time impressed upon us, that the phrase



“Rule of faith” belongs to “the Bible and Catholic Tradition taken together.”

In the succeeding Lecture (the 13th), the same orthodoxy, in *terms* not in *sense*, is retained; and we there see clearly the reason, namely, the consciousness that the Fathers refer to Scripture as *the* Rule of faith.

Referring to the preceding Lecture, Mr. Newman says, that it was “intended to show, how far there is a presumption, “that Scripture is what is commonly called ‘the Rule of ‘faith,’ independently of *the testimony of the Fathers, which “is the direct and sufficient proof of it;”* (p. 369.) and therefore we might suppose a “direct and sufficient proof,” that it was not made up of Scripture and Tradition taken together. And this is so evident a deduction, that “before proceeding to the Fathers,” it was very necessary for Mr. Newman to tell us, what was “the point to be proved,” lest we should think, that their language proved much more than he would be willing to allow. The “point to be proved,” then, is this, “that Holy “Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation; that is, “either as being read therein, or deducible therefrom; not “that Scripture is *the only ground of the faith*, or ordinarily “the guide into it and teacher of it, or *the source of all religious “truth whatever*, or the systematizer of it, or the instrument “of unfolding, illustrating, enforcing, and applying it; but “that it is the document of ultimate appeal in controversy, “and the touchstone of all doctrine [i. e., the document of “appeal and touchstone, *not to individuals, but to the Church*, “and who form the Church, and how you are to get the “decision of the Church, he cannot tell us]. We differ, then, “from the Romanist in this, not in denying that Tradition is “valuable, [mark the misrepresentation *implied* in this word,] “but in maintaining, that by itself, and without Scripture “warrant, it does not convey to us any article necessary to salvation; in other words, that it is not a Rule distinct and “co-ordinate, but subordinate and ministrative.” (pp. 369, 370.)

So that, though Scripture is “*the* Rule of faith,” it is not



"the only ground of the faith;" no; for Tradition is part of the ground, even in fundamental points: nor "*the source of all religious truth whatever*," for other points to be believed, that is, other points of *faith*, are to be derived from Tradition. But Scripture "contains all things necessary to salvation," a confession forced by the sixth Article, but explained away by supposing, that it contains them so obscurely, that we cannot find them, except the unwritten word assures us that they are there, and so imperfectly, that we need Tradition to give us a *complete* representation of them. And as Scripture contains all such points, it is necessary to allow, that in such points there must be some Scripture warrant, while it is at the same time maintained, that Tradition delivers them to us much better; for, as Mr. Keble tells us, for the *full* doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c., we are indebted to Tradition.

And this is called, *differing from the Romanists*, a mistake which we have already pointed out. And the evident contradiction in these statements is attempted to be got over, by saying, that Tradition is "not a Rule distinct and co-ordinate, but subordinate and ministrative," a mere juggle of words; for if Tradition is an unwritten word of God, and conveys to us with certainty the full revelation of the truths which are but indistinctly revealed in Scripture, (as both Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble contend,) it is a rule "distinct and co-ordinate," whether they choose to *call* it so or not; and it is a mere mystification of the subject, to draw these verbal but unreal distinctions, and one calculated only to deceive and mislead the reader. Nay more, upon this hypothesis, viz. that Tradition conveys to us the full doctrines of the faith, and that the Scriptural "notices" of them are only to be understood as explained and amplified by Tradition, it is Scripture that is "subordinate and ministrative" to Tradition, and not Tradition to Scripture.

The same sort of explanation is often offered by the Romanists in defence of their statements on this subject, as for instance was done by Gother. But what says Dean Sherlock to it? "We do not," he says, "charge them with *denying in*

“ *express words* the authority of the Scripture to be a Rule,  
 “ *but with saying that which is equivalent to it, That the sense*  
 “ *of it is so various and uncertain, that no man can be sure of the*  
 “ *true meaning of it, in the most necessary and fundamental*  
 “ *articles of the faith, but by the interpretation and authority of*  
 “ *the Church, which does effectually divest it of the authority of*  
 “ *a Rule, for that is my Rule which can and must direct me ;*  
 “ *which, it seems, is not the Scripture considered IN ITSELF, but*  
 “ *as interpreted by the authority of the Church, WHICH MAKES*  
 “ *THE FAITH AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CHURCH, NOT THE*  
 “ *SCRIPTURES, MY IMMEDIATE RULE.*”<sup>1</sup>

But these terms serve to hide (I use the words in no offensive sense) the confusion, inconsistency, and self-contradiction which pervade the works of our opponents on this point. Indeed, Mr. Newman candidly confesses, that he can give no reason why the Fathers, taking *his* view of Tradition, as he *takes it for granted* they did, did not make it an independent informant even in important matters of faith, but he ingenuously confesses, that they did not, and therefore that we must not, (pp. 342, 3,) but must be “ content to accept the canonicity of “ Scripture [a phrase most strangely used by him to mean “ that Scripture is *the* Canon of the faith] on *faith*,” (p. 343,) i. e. faith in Patristical Tradition ; and so he cuts the knot by CALLING it “ *subordinate and ministrative*,” while he can give no reason why it should not be called, according to his view of it, “ distinct and co-ordinate,” except that the Fathers did not do so,—a tolerably good proof, that he and the Fathers did not take the same view of it.

Such is the labyrinth of confusion into which Mr. Newman has thrown himself, that he contradicts himself over and over again within a few pages. Thus, speaking of the “ consent of Fathers” on this point, he says, “ If any but the Scripture had “ pretensions to be an oracle of faith, would not the first successors of the Apostles be that oracle ? must not they, if “ any, have possessed the authoritative traditions of the Apostles ?” (p. 340,) and he tells us, that “ the tradition of the

<sup>1</sup> SHERLOCK’S A Papist not misrepresented, &c. p. 19.

Fathers" "witnesses, not only that Scripture is the record, but that it is the *sole record*, of saving truth," (p. 342); and then, in the very next page, he says, "It may be asked, if "Scripture be, as has been above represented, *but* the document of appeal, and Catholic Tradition the *authoritative* teacher of Christians, how is it," &c. (p. 343.) So that after an express intimation that Scripture is the alone oracle of faith, and that the early Fathers did not possess the authoritative traditions of the Apostles, and that Scripture is the sole record of saving truth,—confessions wrung from him by the testimony of the Fathers,—we suddenly find ourselves called upon to hold, that Scripture is *but* the document of appeal, and Catholic Tradition the *authoritative* teacher of Christians.

All this inconsistency arises from Mr. Newman having adopted the principles of Romanism on this point, while he wishes nevertheless to make it appear, (even perhaps to himself,) that there is some difference between him and the Romanists, and therefore he takes refuge in a labyrinth of words, through which having led his readers backwards and forwards, he brings them out at last (many of them quite unconsciously) to the very standard of Romanism from which they started.<sup>1</sup>

The same remark applies to Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey. Thus, the former, while he tells us distinctly, in one part, that Scripture and Tradition make up together the Rule of faith (p. 82), in another speaks of "reserving the claim of Scripture to be sole and paramount as a Rule of faith." (p. 31.) With respect to the latter, notwithstanding the distinctions he has attempted to draw in his "Letter" between his views and those of the Romanists, it is only necessary to compare the remarks he has there made with the extract given from him above,<sup>2</sup> to see that the distinctions are but verbal and not

<sup>1</sup> The events that have happened since the above remarks were written, and the light that has been thrown upon Mr. Newman's state of mind at that period by his own admissions, will now perhaps show the justice of those remarks to some who may formerly have doubted of it, and lead them to take a more correct view of the real nature of the Tractarian system.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. pp. 35—38.



real, being precisely the same as those of Mr. Newman, just noticed.

I should also remark here, that another means adopted by our opponents to get over their difficulties on this point, is by tacitly limiting the meaning of the word "faith" to *the necessary faith*, or that which is necessary to be believed in order to salvation. Thus, Dr. Pusey tells us, that "the doctrines of the creeds *only* are *articles of faith*, OR, 'necessary to be believed in order to salvation;'" and consequently, when Scripture is called the Rule of faith, or "the sole authoritative source of the faith," it means, of "things to be believed in order to salvation;"<sup>1</sup> and consequently there is left a very goodly portion of things which are not "articles of faith," but, nevertheless, are (as by a *very nice distinction* he afterwards calls them) "subjects of belief," to fall to the lot of Tradition only; nay, it would appear from the above language, that all but the articles in the Creeds belong to Tradition; and, with respect to those articles, the Creeds are the authoritative interpreter of Scripture; so that how much is left to Scripture, the reader may easily judge.

What may be the opinion of the reader as to this attempt to mystify him, by this use of words in a peculiar sense, I know not; but to me it appears to savour very much of disingenuousness.

Does Dr. Pusey mean to say, that *all* the doctrines which God has in any manner revealed to us, are not "articles of faith?" What, then, does he mean by *faith*, or who authorized him to limit the word faith to the fundamentals of the faith, or to say that the *whole* faith is comprised in "the Creed?" Not, certainly, the Word of God. It is quite true, that the phrases "the faith," "the Rule of faith," are sometimes used by the Fathers to signify the principal articles of faith; and that modern theologians have used the phrase "the faith" in the same *technical* sense. But Dr. Pusey knows well, that this is no defence for one who denies that any *but* these articles are articles of faith; which can only be true, on the supposition either that God has spoken nothing but these,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. PUSEY's Lett. to Bp. of Oxford, pp. 27—30.



or that the other parts of God's word are not objects of faith. Whatever religious truth God has delivered to us, is an article of faith ; and whenever Dr. Pusey shall prove, that we have, in Patristical Traditions, that which is in substance the Word of God, it will follow, that the religious truths so delivered are articles of faith, as much as any truths of a similar kind delivered in Scripture. But here is the advantage to his cause, in using such phraseology, that by thus limiting the meaning of the word *faith*, he can make use of orthodox language, and call the Scriptures, *in some sense*, the Rule of faith ; while he retains views utterly opposed to what he seems to admit.

As long as our opponents contend, that Tradition is in substance an unwritten Word of God, a divine informant, and must be joined with Scripture to make up the Rule of faith, as giving the full revelation of truths but obscurely revealed in Scripture, and delivers with certainty Apostolical doctrines not in Scripture, it is utterly useless for them to pretend to draw any *real* distinction between their views and those of the Romanists ; and the attempt will only involve them in inconsistencies and self-contradictions ; though, of course, on account of these self-contradictions, they may be as much disowned by the Romanists as by Protestants.

Upon the whole, then, the view taken by our opponents seems to be this ; that though the Rule of faith is made up of Scripture and Tradition taken together, yet that, as Scripture contains the necessary points of faith, that is to say, obscure and imperfect *notices* of them, (for this is all which they, in fact, allow,) therefore, taking the word *faith* to mean *the necessary faith*, Scripture may be called, *in some sense*, the Rule of faith.

It is quite evident, however, that, in all this management and straining of the sense of words, there is some object to be gained, in showing how the phrase, Rule of faith, may somehow or other, consistently with their views, be applied to Scripture ; and that object is, an appearance of agreement with the Fathers, who do so call it. And Mr. Newman candidly confesses, that they so apply this phrase, not on any grounds of *reason*, (for according to their views it is not so ap-

plicable,) but because there is a "consent of Fathers" that such is the case;<sup>1</sup> (as no doubt there is;) and the reason why they object to the representations of the Romanists as to the imperfect structure of the New Testament for a Rule of faith is, not from their thinking the observations inapplicable in the abstract, but because they think it undesirable to do more than just receive the representations of the Fathers on the point, and rest satisfied with them without going further; though indeed they themselves do this only as to the *letter* and not as to the *spirit*. And they seem to be as fearful here as they were with respect to the evidences for the inspiration of the New Testament, that if you do but exercise your reason in order to judge of any part of the foundation upon which your faith is resting, you will immediately relinquish it, as unworthy your confidence. And I must confess, that, according to their view of things, these fears are not without foundation; for, if all appearances are against Scripture being an adequate Rule of faith, and it is to be believed, nevertheless, that it is so, on the testimony of a few Fathers, then the less that is said about it the better. I shall only say, however, that, having no such fears, I am not at all alarmed at seeing reason inquire into the matter.

I shall now, therefore, venture to call the attention of reason to this matter, and beg it to view very narrowly the structure of the New Testament, and see the stability of the foundation upon which is built the truth that Holy Scripture is *fitted* by its structure to be the Rule of faith and practice in at least all vital points.

Let us consider the *facts* of the case.

Of the Gospel of St. Matthew, Eusebius tells us, that "Matthew, having preached first to the Hebrews, and being about to go to other nations, wrote the Gospel according to him in his own language, supplying by writing the want of his presence and converse among those whom he was about to leave."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c., pp. 339, 340.

<sup>2</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 24. See also CHRYSOST. Comment. in Matth. hom. 1.; and Op. Imp. in Matth. Præfat.

The Gospel of St. Mark was penned by him as the Gospel preached by St. Peter, and was expressly sanctioned by Peter.<sup>1</sup> The especial object of St. Peter in having this Gospel written was, if we believe the common Patristical interpretation of 2 Pet. i. 15, (and which carries upon it an air of great probability), to insure to his followers a knowledge of the great truths of Christianity; which shows how little he was willing to trust them to oral Tradition.

Besides these, we have the Gospel of St. Luke, professing to give Theophilus "a declaration of *those things* which were most surely *believed*" among Christians, that he might "know the certainty of *those things wherein he had been instructed.*"

Still further,—*These three Gospels were reviewed by St. John, and published with his sanction, and he himself added a fourth, to supply what he considered desirable to make up a complete account of our Lord's life and doctrine.*<sup>2</sup> And, connected with this fact, those words towards the close of his Gospel are more especially observable as favourable to our view, in which he says,—“And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. *But these are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.*” (John xx. 30, 31.)

And these accounts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, let us observe, were written for the information of *mankind at large*, not as documents intended only for the private use of the pastors of the Church; and were *diligently distributed for that purpose by the earliest teachers of Christianity*;<sup>3</sup> which is an important consideration in judging of their fitness to be the Rule of faith to mankind.

If, then, these four Gospels do not fully and clearly deliver all the important doctrines of Christianity, I know not where we are to look for them. Any *one* Gospel may, perhaps, be not sufficiently full for the purpose, because at the time when

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 29, 30 above.

<sup>2</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 24. See, also, EPIPH. Adv. Hær. in hæc. 51. §§ 4—8.

<sup>3</sup> See EUSEB. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 37.



they were written, there might be other reliable evidence as to the doctrines which the Apostles preached. But that all the four should be considered insufficient for the purpose, especially when we find that one of them was drawn up by an Apostle, in order to supplement any deficiency in the others in their account of our Lord's life and doctrine, savours more of zeal for a favourite hypothesis than of the calm conclusions of reason.

But we are not left with these only ; we have, besides them, above twenty Epistles, written by several of the Apostles to various churches and individuals, in order to explain still more fully and clearly the Christian faith. Now these, I admit, were written as occasion offered ; and if the whole of the New Testament had consisted of such writings, the objections of the Romanists on this head might have had some foundation ; but, as it is, these Epistles are merely the additional explanations vouchsafed us for our guidance and comfort, beyond the more summary accounts given us by the Evangelists ; explanations in the absence of which, much certainly of the light now enjoyed would have been wanting, and which, on account of the inspiration of their authors, form part of the Divine Rule of faith and practice. But had we been without these Epistles and the book of Revelation, the Divine Rule of faith and practice, so far as the New Testament revelation is concerned, would have been limited to the four Gospels, for the very same reason that it is now limited to the Scriptures we possess, namely, that they only would have possessed any certain title to be considered as the word of God. Nor do we thereby make the rest of little importance to us, because the importance to us of the remainder arises, not from the fuller information it contains being *in the abstract* necessary to salvation, but *chiefly* from the fact that God has given that fuller information to us, and that consequently it is necessary for us to make use of it, the necessity for belief in any doctrine arising only from the fact of its being revealed to us ; and *partly* also from the circumstance, that it gives us a further insight into many spiritual truths and duties.



To all which we may add, that one of the earliest Christian writers, Irenæus, expressly tells us, that what the Apostles first preached, that they afterwards wrote in the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

The notion, therefore, that any important portion of the revelation made to mankind through our Blessed Lord and his Apostles has not come down to us in the Scriptures of the New Testament is entirely opposed to facts.

The argument here urged is so clear and evident, that even Mr. Newman himself, when professing to oppose the Romanists, and to show that Scripture is the Canon of the faith, (an orthodoxy preserved, as we have already seen, in *name* and *words* only, for his real meaning is in substance precisely the same as that of the Romanists,) actually adopts it. After quoting with approbation a remark of Bishop Taylor's, that "our Lord's teaching contains all things necessary to salvation," (p. 357,) of which teaching he holds Scripture to be the sole record, he remarks, "The doctrines of our faith are "really promulgated by Christ himself. There is no truth "which St. Paul or St. John declare, which he does not "anticipate. . . . If we had only the Gospels, we should have "in them all the great doctrines of the Epistles, all the articles of the Creed . . . . And this is one main reason, it "would seem, why the Epistles are vouchsafed to us; not so "much to *increase the Gospel*, as to serve as a comment upon "it, as taught by our Lord, *to bring out and fix His sacred "sense, lest we should by any means miss it.*" (pp. 360, 1.) And yet, after all, we must go (Mr. Newman says) to Tradition for the full development of those truths, for they are neither *fully* nor *clearly* revealed in Scripture, and the chances are seriously against any one being able to learn them from Scripture. And in order to oblige us, if possible, to receive "Tradition" as a part of the Rule of faith, the Scriptural foundation of some of the most important doctrines of the faith is cavilled at as quite insufficient. Now these two statements can only be reconciled on one of these two suppositions, either that the Apostles purposely kept back something, when they professed to give mankind an account of our Lord's

<sup>1</sup> IREN. Adv. Hær. iii. 1.

teaching, and to explain in their Epistles his doctrine, or that, though they were inspired, they were unable to give a clear account of the matter; on which latter supposition, by the way, any report of their oral teaching will not give us much additional help.

This is another rather curious specimen, as it appears to me, of the windings of Mr. Newman's labyrinth.

Nor can I quit this head without remarking, that the argument for the insufficiency of Scripture as the Rule of faith for all revealed truth, derived from the supposition that Tradition teaches something that is fundamental in that truth, the knowledge of which could not be obtained from Scripture, rests upon an entirely false foundation. Nothing requires our belief as a revealed truth, which is not to be found in that which we have reason to consider to be the word of God. Any objection, therefore, to the doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture as the Rule of faith, on the ground that certain views are a fundamental part of the revealed faith, and yet are not found clearly stated in Scripture, is manifestly invalid. If they are not clearly the doctrine of Scripture, they are not of necessary belief as a part of revealed truth. The necessity for belief in any doctrine of revelation does not arise from its being a true doctrine, because there may be important doctrines that are true and possibly revealed to some, but which, not having been revealed to us, we are not bound to believe; but it arises from the fact, that it has been clearly revealed to us, in that which we know to be the word of God; and therefore, *to us*, the necessary revealed faith can at the utmost only be co-extensive with the revelation *we possess*. And had there been no Scriptures, there would have been scarcely anything that we could have depended upon as a divine revelation. Our duty is to believe what God has spoken, but that duty is necessarily limited to the belief of that which we have good reason to be convinced that God *has* spoken. And *all* that is clearly revealed demands our belief on the ground of the obedience due to God; and a *wilful rejection* of what we *know* to be a doctrine revealed to us by God, cannot be reconciled

with a state of salvation. The ground on which we distinguish some points from others in the revelation God has made to us, considering some fundamental and others not, is, chiefly that Holy Scripture seems to mark out some as fundamental, and also perhaps that it appears to us, that in some points men may remain *ignorant* of what the Divine doctrine respecting them is, without their spiritual life being seriously affected by it, while in the case of others the spiritual life would be seriously affected by such ignorance—which points therefore, BEING REVEALED, we hold to be of necessary belief.

I proceed to notice,

(3) The arguments and objections which may be derived from general considerations.

And here let us observe,

First :—The committal of the Gospel to writing *at all*, is a strong argument in favour of *the whole* revealed faith, that is, in all important points at least, having been committed to writing. For why was it written at all, and not left to be communicated to mankind by the oral teaching of the disciples of the Apostles and their successors to the end of the world, but that its perpetuation would thus have been endangered, that is, in other words, but for the uncertainty of “Tradition?” And if they committed to writing one part of the doctrines they delivered on this account, did not the same reason operate equally strongly for committing the whole to writing; that is, all that was of vital importance to Christians? Why should any important part be left out in all the four accounts, when they were written for the purpose of giving the Christian world the best information on the doctrines of Christianity? Is it *reasonable* to suppose, that this would be the case? especially when we recollect, that the first three were reviewed by the author of the last, and that the last was written to make their account *more* complete? Can we venture to think them guilty of such an inconsistency, guided as they were by the Divine Spirit in all such matters?

And the same argument operates with equal force in favour of their having delivered those doctrines *clearly* and *fully*. For,

the great object to be attained by committing them to writing, was to prevent their being corrupted through the imperfections or corrupt prejudices of human nature; but if they were not *clearly* and *fully* delivered, and it was left to "Tradition" to hand down the "full doctrine," they would be almost as much exposed to such corruption, as they would have been had they not been written; and there cannot be charged upon the writers any incapability of delivering those doctrines clearly and fully.

Secondly:—Patristical Tradition cannot be, practically, any part of the Rule of faith or practice to men in general, for it has to be evolved from a multitude of volumes, by a process which renders it practically inaccessible to the great bulk of mankind.

For how are men, generally, to obtain a knowledge of what is called primitive catholic consent? Supposing it to be deducible from the records of antiquity which remain to us, (which it is not,) how are men, generally, to find out that which is derived from a careful comparison and survey of a whole library of volumes?

But it may be said, it is delivered to them by others whom they may safely trust. But what assurance have they of this? Is it so very easy a task to determine infallibly the opinion of the whole Primitive Church respecting any contested doctrine? Oh! yes, saith Mr. Newman, "the doctrine of the Apostles" is "an historical fact, and ascertainable as other facts, and obvious to the intelligence of inquirers as other facts;" "the Church enforces a fact—Apostolical Tradition." (pp. 224, 5.)

Now we have already so fully entered upon this point in a former chapter, that I need not, I hope, add one word here for the overthrow of such a notion. It is only surprising how any one at all acquainted with the matter, could risk such an assertion. And, in truth, Mr. Newman himself seems aware, that this *obvious fact* may be anything but *obvious* to many; and hence he is forced, at last, to take refuge, like the Romanists, in the infallibility of the Church, and "that doctrine" "which is true considered as an historical fact, is true also be-



"cause she [the Church] teaches it" (p. 226.); and therefore, if any one ventures to think for himself as to what this "fact" is, by a survey of the writings of the Fathers, if he concludes contrary to what "the Church" teaches, his mouth is stopped at once by the plea of the infallibility of the Church, so that he might as well spare himself the labour of inquiring, and take all at once from the hands of the Church; which, indeed, is the happy state to which our opponents seem to wish to reduce us. Thus, all questions are, at last, swallowed up in the quicksand of church-infallibility.

And the curious part of this matter is, that Mr. Newman, instead of boldly telling us, like the Romanists, what and who "the Church" is, fairly intimates that he is at a loss to do so; but asks with great simplicity, whether we cannot consider our own church as able to answer the purpose; so that, after all the high-sounding words about the teaching of "the Church,"—"the Catholic Church," it turns out, that, *practically*, this means the teaching of a company of men, occupying a section of a little island at one corner of the world. Surely, says Mr. N., she "transmits the antient catholic faith simply and intelligibly;" "*to follow the Church, THEN, in this day, is to follow the Prayer-book.*" (p. 313.) No doubt we who belong to her think so. But how did we *find out*, that she "transmits the antient catholic faith?" Are all men bound to take her word for it? So, then, after all this vapouring about the infallibility of the Church's teaching, there is no teaching to be found to which such a high-sounding name belongs.<sup>1</sup> To talk, indeed, of the teaching of the Church Catholic, either as consisting of the whole body of professing Christians, or of the true children of God, or even of the pastors of the Church, is a manifest absurdity; for the suffrages of either body never were and never could be collected, and to such a consent only could the idea of freedom from error be attached.

Patristical Tradition, then, cannot be practically any part of

<sup>1</sup> Can we be surprised, that Mr. Newman, before very long, discovered, that the Church of Rome was the only Communion to which he could consistently belong? But he was only speaking according to the views which still characterize the Tractarian party in our Church.

the infallible Rule of faith to mankind ; because, to the majority, it is not accessible. The doubt and uncertainty hanging over it in *all* cases, are to the great majority of mankind doubled ; and it comes *to them*, at least, with such a probability of alloy and corruption, that it absolutely needs to be tried and tested by some touchstone which can be depended upon, to show them what in it may be agreeable to truth, and what otherwise. In other words, *instead of being any part of the Rule, it must be itself judged by the Rule.*

Thirdly :—So clearly is Scripture set forth by the Fathers as the Rule of faith, that our opponents are forced to admit, that, in necessary points, (to which, for their own purposes, they would fain limit the use of the word faith,) that title cannot be denied to Scripture. This forced admission, then, is, as it respects these points at least, fatal to their cause ; for if, in these, it is, as they in *words* admit, the Canon or Rule of faith, then Tradition is not, in these points, any part of the Rule.

For, that which is the Rule of faith to men in necessary points, is that by which necessary faith is to be regulated and *measured* ; and it is contrary to the nature of a rule, to receive either addition or diminution in those respects for which it is a rule. And so the Fathers say. Thus, Chrysostom, who calls the Scriptures “ the rule of all things,”<sup>1</sup> that is, all religious truth, says, “ A rule receives neither addition or diminution, otherwise it ceases to be a rule.”<sup>2</sup> And Basil, reproving Eunomius for saying, that the creed, while he called it a standard and rule, needed an addition to make it more accurate,<sup>3</sup> observes, that this is the extreme of folly, for that “ a standard and rule, as long as nothing is wanting to them to make them a standard and rule, admit no addition for greater accuracy. For an addition is wanting only to supply

<sup>1</sup> See under Chrysostom in ch. 10 below.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ Κανὼν οὐτε πρόσθεσιν, οὐτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ κανὼν εἶναι ἀπόλλυσι. CHRYSOST. Comment. in Ep. ad Phil. hom. 12. § 2. Op. ed. Bened. tom. xi. p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Προσθήκης ἀκριβεστέρας δεῖσθαι. BASIL. CES. Adv. Eunom. lib. i. § 5. Op. ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 213.

“ a defect ; but if they were imperfect, they *could not properly be called by these names.*”<sup>1</sup>

True it is, that the Fathers often apply the phrase, “ the Rule of faith,” to a brief summary of the leading articles of the faith ; but then we must consider the purpose for which it was intended. It was an elementary summary of the chief articles of the faith, intended to serve as the Church’s Confession ; and thus was, in that sense, the Church’s Rule of faith. It had its origin, as we have seen in a former chapter, in the words of our Lord ; and probably consisted originally of nothing more than the confession of the Trinity, including the identification of the Son with Jesus Christ ; and the reason for this selection may clearly be traced to the words in which our Lord instituted the rite of baptism.<sup>2</sup> The Creed, then, was strictly, “ the Rule of faith,” *for the purpose for which it was a rule* ; that is, as the Church’s elementary Confession. As long as it remained the Church’s Confession, it admitted neither addition nor diminution, but by the same authority that made it.

When, therefore, the Fathers applied the term Rule of faith to Scripture, they meant, that in those respects in which it was a rule, it was complete and perfect ; it admitted neither addition nor diminution. In what respects, then, did they so receive it ? Not with regard merely to the Church’s Confession. No ; but with reference to the whole faith, or at least the whole *necessary* faith, by which necessary belief was to be regulated and measured ; admitting neither addition nor diminution, for the purpose for which it was a rule. So that at least in all the points of faith *required for salvation*, if it is *the rule*, it is *the whole of the rule*, containing a revelation of all doctrines necessary to be known, and a revelation *going to the full extent of what is required to be known* respecting them :

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀμαθείας σημεῖον ἔστω, ἥτις τῷ καὶ τοῦτο φίλον παρεξετάζειν· ὁ γὰρ τοι κανὼν, ὃ σοφώτατε, καὶ ὁ γνώμων, ὥς ἂν μηδὲν ἐνδέη τοῦ κανὼν εἶναι καὶ γνώμων, οὐδεμίαν προσθήκην εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιδέχεται. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἢ πρόσθεσις. Ἀτελεῖς δὲ ὑπάρχοντες, οὐδὲ τῶν προσηγοριῶν τούτων ἑγιῶς ἂν ἔτι τυγχάνοιεν. ID. ib. pp. 213, 214.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 4 above.

otherwise it would not be *the rule* for necessary faith. To say, then, that Scripture is the Rule of faith in necessities, but that, nevertheless, the full doctrines of Christianity in some fundamental points are only to be found in Scripture and Tradition taken together as a joint Rule, is of all inconsistencies the most absurd.<sup>1</sup>

Fourthly :—Our opponents allow, that, in all fundamental points, Scripture is the document of proof ; and that Scripture-proof of all such doctrines is absolutely necessary ; a concession which, if they did not make, might be forced from them, *upon their own principles*, by the testimony of the Fathers.<sup>2</sup> Now *this concession is absolutely and summarily fatal to their cause*, as far as the fundamentals of the faith are concerned.

For, if Scripture-proof is required in all such doctrines, then, whether it be required for the satisfaction of “the Church” or an individual, such proof *exists* in Scripture *for all* ; and such *proof* can exist only *as far as the doctrine is there revealed*. Any amplification or fuller statement of the doctrine, derived from any other source, cannot, as far as concerns the additional ideas conveyed, receive any proof from Scripture. He who states the doctrine more clearly or fully (as he may think) than Scripture, cannot have Scripture-warrant for his statements. If, therefore, Scripture-proof is required for the fundamentals of the faith, then, in such points, Scripture is the sole Rule of faith ; for, by the declarations of Scripture, our faith, as it respects such points, *must* be measured and *bounded*. Not only are we not *required* to believe more, but it

<sup>1</sup> In the above reasoning, I have supposed, that when the Fathers called the Scripture the Rule of faith, they might mean only in points required for salvation ; and that they did consider it as such in these points cannot be denied. I shall show hereafter, however, (in ch. x.) that they, or at least many of them, meant the phrase to mean much more ; and that they regarded Scripture as measuring and bounding the *whole* faith, inasmuch as it bounded what could be known to be *divine revelation*.

<sup>2</sup> I hope to show fully hereafter, when quoting the testimonies of the Fathers, that they, or at least many of them, not only held, that the fundamental doctrines of the faith must be proved from Scripture, but that *all* the doctrines of the Christian religion must be so proved.



is *at our peril* to add to what is there revealed ; for our faith has then *no proper foundation* to rest upon.

It is true, that Patristical Tradition may be very useful as a teacher, in pointing out to us what Scripture does contain and prove, by drawing out and illustrating its sense ; and is, on many accounts, if we will but remember to use it with proper caution, a valuable interpreter of Scripture. But, the doctrines which it teaches us, have authority over our faith, only so far as they appear to us to be authorized by, and proveable from Scripture. I say, so far as they *appear to us* to be so, because we are responsible to God *individually* ; and having what all allow to be his Word in the Scriptures, we are responsible to him for believing what in our consciences we believe to be the meaning of his Word. It is useless to reply, that we may possibly in such a case have an immense majority of the professing Christian Church against us, or that possibly we may interpret the Scriptures wrongly. For, not to say, that majorities are no proof of truth, and that we hold *with the Fathers* that all the fundamentals of faith and practice are, to the humble inquirer, plain in Scripture, and that the promises of God ensure success to the inquiries of the sincere and humble-minded, we hold it to be a truth altogether undeniable, that if we are certain that God has spoken to us, and are convinced in our consciences that what he has said means this or that, nothing ought to be allowed to move us from a faith so taken up ; and *if we err, our judgment is not with fallible man, but with God.*

But this subordination of Patristical Tradition to Scripture, our opponents cannot think of allowing ; for though, in *words*, they admit Scripture to be the document of proof, and will talk of the necessity of Scripture-proof for the fundamental doctrines, there is nothing which they less admit in reality, either as it respects the Church, or individuals.

Their favourite phrase on this subject is, that " Tradition teaches, Scripture proves ;"<sup>1</sup> by which they mean to intimate, that Scripture is insufficient to *teach*, but sufficient to prove ;

<sup>1</sup> KEEBLE'S Serm. p. 114.

(a tolerably strange contradiction to begin with;) and the reason is, that Scripture contains only obscure "notices" of the necessary doctrines, but Tradition has handed down these doctrines *fully* and *clearly*. We must, therefore, learn these doctrines from Tradition, and regard the *obscure notices* of these doctrines in Scripture, as *proving* all that Tradition has delivered to us respecting them. Our opponents, it would seem, are easily satisfied as to *proofs*, when it suits their hypothesis to be so. But certainly with their view of the nature of faith, we cannot be surprised at this. For, the less the evidence, the more excellent the faith. Its doubtfulness, Mr. Newman thinks, gives an opportunity for faith to be "generous." On any other hypothesis, however, it is difficult to see, how that which contains only obscure notices of a doctrine, notices only to be understood by the aid of Tradition, can be said to *prove* that doctrine. The inconsistency is so glaring, that to quote authorities to show it, seems almost superfluous; but there are some remarks of our excellent Archbishop Tenison, so much to the purpose on this point, that I cannot refrain from quoting them. "The Romanists," says the Archbishop, "declare, that the Scriptures are so "obscure, even in matters of faith, that *the people*, without "an infallible guide, *cannot find out the true sense of them*. "IF THIS DOCTRINE OF THEIRS BE TRUE, IT IS MOST ABSURD "FOR THEM TO GO ABOUT TO PROVE THEIR ARTICLES TO THE "PEOPLE OUT OF THE SCRIPTURES, seeing that supposeth the "Scriptures clearer than those articles; for that by which "anything is proved, is to be more known and certain, than "that which is proved by it. This way, likewise, sets up the "people as judges of the sense of these Scriptures which they "offer to them in the main points in difference; that is, they "now confess the people can judge of that of which they yet "say they cannot judge, *by reason of their weakness, and the "obscureness of the Holy Writings*. BUT WHEN MEN HAVE "A MIND TO PROCEED IN A CAUSE, IT IS NOT A CONTRADICTION THAT CAN STOP THEM. Therefore, notwithstanding "this, and very much more of the like nature, which might

“ be alleged against this way of proceeding, as *plainly inconsistent*,—still, amongst the weak, who discern not the absurdity, and have not skill to set their methods one against another, they make their boast of *Scripture proofs* for their religion, and against ours.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, Mr. Husebeth tells us, “ Let it be further remarked, that *when* the Catholic Church has declared the sense of Scripture, and deduced certain doctrines from it, we may then, as Scotus has also remarked, confidently assert, that they can be **MANIFESTLY PROVED** from Scripture.”<sup>2</sup> So that if the “ Catholic Church ” was to declare, that Scripture said that black was white, we might then “ confidently assert,” that it might be “ manifestly proved ” from Scripture. No matter what Scripture says, but if the Catholic Church declares that it says this or that, then this or that may be “ *manifestly proved* ” out of it.

Moreover, it would be worth knowing, how it is, that since Tradition is an unwritten Word of God, we have any *need* of *Scripture-proof*, after Tradition has taught us the faith, and that more clearly and fully than Scripture can. It seems, at any rate, needless trouble to go any further. For, if Tradition is in substance the Word of God, it *proves* the truth of what it delivers, as well as Scripture could : for one word of God is worthy of equal reverence, and is of equal authority, with any other. “ If we will be impartial,” says Mr. Keble, “ we cannot hide it from ourselves, that God’s unwritten word, “ if it can be any how authenticated, [and the position contended for is, that it can be authenticated, and is to be found “ in the Fathers,] must necessarily demand the *same reverence* “ from us, [i. e. as his written word,] and for exactly the same “ reason, because it is his word.”<sup>3</sup> Certainly : and therefore to send us to the obscure notices of Scripture for proofs of a doctrine which the “ unwritten word ” has delivered to us

<sup>1</sup> TENISON’S Popery not founded on Scripture. Lond. 1688. 4to. Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> HUSENBETH’S Reply to Faber, 2d. ed. p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> KEBLE’S Serm. p. 26.

clearly and fully, is most unreasonable. So that at best this observation as to "Tradition teaching and Scripture proving," is, in the sense in which they mean it, full of absurdity and inconsistency.

There is a sense, indeed, in which this phrase, "Tradition teaches, Scripture proves," is true enough; and states a fact which occurs in the case of most individuals, who are first taught principally by creeds and catechisms, which have been handed down from generation to generation, for a longer or shorter time; but then Tradition is not here taken as meaning anything derived from the oral teaching of the Apostles, as if we had anything which could be considered as coming to us with Apostolical authority,—and the learner is also taught, that the truths so delivered to him rest altogether upon the authority of Scripture; and are obligatory upon him only so far as they are authorized by Scripture; and to Scripture he is exhorted to go, as soon as he is able to examine for himself, and make Scripture-testimony *the sole ground of his faith*.

It is no proof that those who have come to years of discretion do not *learn* the doctrines of the faith from Scripture as *the sole ground of their faith*, that they have *first* been *made acquainted with them* through the medium of a creed, or catechism, or elementary work. A child or uneducated person *may* thus take the doctrines of Christianity upon the word of the parent or teacher, this being all the satisfaction they *may* be capable of as to the truth of those doctrines. But even this is not, strictly speaking, traditionary teaching, for he who teaches, if he knows his duty, will (whatever *formula* he may make use of in the way of creed or catechism, &c.) teach those doctrines only for which he has Scripture-proof. And the child, when he comes to years of responsibility to God, is bound to examine the book of God for himself, *as far as he is able*, to see whether what he has been taught is agreeable to what is there delivered, and thus to *learn* his faith, as a being responsible to God, from Scripture as the sole ground of it. Nor is there any inconsistency, as our opponents insinuate, in giving what is called "the Apostles' Creed," as the summary



of our belief, and yet asserting, that the Scripture is the sole ground of our faith, and that we have *learned* the faith from Scripture, inasmuch as the reason why we receive that Creed is, as our Church expresses it, "because it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." (Art. 8.) And as the language of the Primitive Church may have greater weight with our opponents in proof of this, I will give them an unexceptionable instance of a very early date, viz., in the language used by the Fathers assembled at the Synod against Noetus, who, after repeating the Creed in the usual form of that period, immediately add, "We maintain these doctrines, *HAVING LEARNED THEM FROM THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES.*"<sup>1</sup>

And hence we may observe the confusion and inconsequential reasoning that mark the following observation of one of the Tract writers, who says,—"*It is to be observed, that where separatists hold the catholic truth, they hold it, not from Scripture only, for others, on the plea of Scriptural authority, deny the same, [mark the logic of this, that because some plead Scripture in defence of error, therefore nobody can find the truth in it,] but from Tradition supplied by the Church, which has been to them the key to the Scriptures.*"<sup>2</sup> As if men could not hold the truth *from Scripture only*, where Tradition, supplied by the Church, may have been, in the first instance, the key to the Scriptures. Why, this very thing, which they tell us "it is to be observed" cannot be, is precisely what is contended for by their supposed friends, Hooker and Archbishop Laud. Speaking of the Tradition supplied by the Church, the Archbishop says, "It serves to work upon the minds of unbelievers to move them to read and to consider the Scripture. . . . And secondly, it serves among novices, weaklings, and doubters in the faith, to instruct and confirm them *till they may acquaint themselves with and understand the Scripture, which the Church delivers as the Word of God.* . . . . "No man can set a better state of the question between Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Ταῦτα λέγομεν, μεμαθηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν. ΕΠΙΡΗΑΝ. Adv. Hær.; hær. Noet. 57. Op. ed. Petav. vol. i. p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Tract 80. p. 65.

"ture and Tradition than Hooker doth : his words are these :—  
 " *'The Scripture is the ground of our belief: the authority of*  
*'man (THAT IS THE NAME HE GIVES TO TRADITION<sup>1</sup>) is the key*  
*'which opens the door of entrance into the knowledge of the*  
*'Scripture.'*"<sup>2</sup>

The Tradition supplied by the Church may be, and perhaps generally is, the means of first introducing men to a knowledge of the truths of Scripture; but the ground of faith to one who has Scripture in his hands, and is sufficiently capable of judging to be responsible to God for forming a right judgment, and the sole infallible ground of faith to *all*, is Scripture.

Further, when we come to inquire, what our opponents mean, when they say that Scripture is to be referred to for *proof*, we shall find that, practically, it amounts to nothing. They are forced to admit it in *words*, because they see plainly, that the Fathers admitted it, while (as in other cases) they in effect altogether deny it. For, neither "the Church," nor any individual, may understand Scripture as meaning anything else than what "Tradition" teaches as its meaning. So that though they talk of the necessity of going to Scripture for proof, and believing only what Scripture proves, they, in fact, mean, not Scripture, but the interpretation given to Scripture by "Tradition," that is, in other words, "Tradition." Their appeal, therefore, is not to Scripture-proof, but to "Tradition" saying that Scripture proves it. When talking of Scripture-proof, then, they are merely trifling with us, and throwing dust into the eyes of men to blind them to the real state of the case, just as the Papists do when they send us to the Scriptures for a proof of the infallibility of their Church, which if we cannot find in the texts they quote for it as proof, we are rated as infidels for presuming to suppose, that texts quoted by infallibility as meaning this or that, can possibly mean anything else.

The Church herself, when proving the truth from Scripture, is "a witness of catholic truth delivered to her in the first

<sup>1</sup> These are the Archbishop's words.

<sup>2</sup> LATD'S Reply to Fisher, § 16. n. 21 & 25.

“ages, whether by Councils, or by Fathers, or in whatever other way,” and “does not claim any gift of interpretation for herself, in the high points in question,” but “hands over the office to catholic antiquity.” “Much less does she allow individuals to pretend to it.”<sup>1</sup> In them it would be a high crime and misdemeanour to go to Scripture to judge for themselves, whether there was any sufficient proof of what the Fathers had delivered on these points; for, “the popular view,” “that every Christian has the right of making up his mind for himself what he is to believe, from personal and private study of the Scriptures,” is “*so very preposterous*”—“something so very strange and wild,” that Mr. Newman is “unable either to discuss or even to impute such an opinion to another.”<sup>2</sup> “In what our Articles say of Holy Scripture as the document of proof, exclusive reference is had to *teaching*. It is not said, that individuals are to infer the faith, but that the Church is to prove it from Scripture. . . . The sole question in the Articles is, how *the Church is to teach*.”<sup>3</sup> And it is “in matters of inferior moment” only that either the Church or the individual “have room to exercise their own powers.”<sup>4</sup> So that both the Church and all individuals are bound hand and foot to the Fathers, and dare not think of inquiring for themselves what Scripture means, and what it proves, but only what “Tradition” says that it means and proves. And the way in which individuals are to use the Scriptures, is thus described:—“We think NO HARM CAN COME from putting the Scripture into the hands of the laity, [a very gracious concession to God’s word, certainly,] *allowing* them, if they will, to *verify* by it, AS FAR AS IT EXTENDS, the doctrines they have been *already taught*.”<sup>5</sup>

Of what use, then, is it to go to the Scriptures at all? for what difference is there between believing a doctrine because “Tradition” declares it, and believing it because “Tradition” says that Scripture declares it? And moreover, by not going to Scripture, we avoid the danger of being obliged to believe,

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN’S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. pp. 323, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. pp. 173, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. p. 167.

that Scripture means something different from what it seems to us to say; which undeniably is a startling requirement, but one which Mr. Newman makes without any apparent hesitation—"When the sense of Scripture," he says, "as interpreted by reason, is contrary to the sense given to it by catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter;" which "is part of the theory of private judgment," "as," he conceives, "the English Church maintains it."<sup>1</sup>

We are obliged to him for thus speaking out, because after all this there can be no mistake; and we thus clearly see, what their favourite saying, that "Tradition teaches and Scripture proves," really means, viz., that "Tradition teaches and Tradition proves," and that *practically* from end to end "Tradition" is all in all; and that if any one goes to Scripture, it must be, not to ascertain what appears to him to be its meaning, but only to try to find in it a confirmation of those doctrines which "Tradition" has delivered to him; and thus, instead of "Tradition" being used for the confirmation of the doctrines derived by us from Scripture, Scripture is put down into the subordinate office of affording a confirmation to what "Tradition" has delivered.

Patristical Tradition may be, and no doubt is, useful in leading men to a right interpretation of Scripture, and has a moral persuasive power in inducing them to embrace the truth. But, to assert that we must believe only in accordance with what Tradition tells us is the meaning of Scripture, is, in fact, to make Tradition the Rule of faith. For the very assertion supposes, that Scripture bears another sense besides that given to it by Tradition. Now, a man may believe that other sense to be the true sense, and that the sense given by Tradition in any particular point is as far from the true meaning as others think his to be. If, then, he is bound to believe the traditional interpretation, and so to believe a doctrine which he cannot find in Scripture, and the truth of which appears to him only to rest upon Tradition, his faith in that doctrine, whatever it be,

<sup>1</sup> Ib. pp. 160, 161.



rests upon Tradition, and Tradition is his Rule of faith. It is an old Roman Catholic cavil against us, that to interpret Scripture by fancy is the same thing as to follow fancy, which is very true, though a very futile argument against us. By the same argument, then, to interpret Scripture by Tradition is to follow Tradition.

And if the views of the Tractators are correct, the loss of Scripture altogether would not be of much importance. For it contains only brief and obscure notices of the truth, while "Tradition" delivers it clearly and fully. And when they speak of Tradition as the interpreter of Scripture, this cannot be understood as if it had less intrinsic authority than Scripture, because they hold it to be, in substance, equally the word of God with Scripture. It has an authority independent of Scripture, as flowing from the same source. Scripture and Tradition are not like a law and a judge's interpretation of it, but like two authoritative publications of a law, of which one is brief and obscure, and the other full and clear, of which, therefore, the latter supersedes the former.

All this arises, of course, from the supposition that "Tradition" is the word of God; and if it were so, I should quite agree with our opponents, that our reason was not to be put in competition with it. But first let it be proved to be so;<sup>1</sup> and, at any rate, let us be spared these contradictory statements, that serve only to catch the unwary, and perplex the uninitiated reader, and are so little to the credit of our common Christianity.

All these self-contradictions spring from our opponents being committed to *two opposite systems*. Belonging to the Church of

<sup>1</sup> The reader may hence estimate the value of the observation of Dr. Hook, that they who imply, that "the advocates of the English Reformation," as he is pleased to term them, "elevate Tradition above the Bible, or that they place Tradition on an equality with it," insinuate "*a gross and uncharitable falsehood*." (Visit. Sermon, p. 64.) I shall not imitate Dr. Hook in the use of such language, but shall very willingly leave the matter to the common sense of mankind to determine; and that common sense will often give as true a verdict as a hasty reasoner, though a divine, wedded to a favourite hypothesis, and involved in a labyrinth of high-sounding words and phrases which serve him in the place of truths and realities.

England, and striving to make their views appear conformable to her Articles, while at the same time they have embraced and are endeavouring to inculcate doctrines entirely opposed to them, and which they were, in fact, intended to repress, their statements are often altogether opposed to one another. Thus, the concession here made about Scripture being the document of proof, is evidently forced from them by the 6th Article of our Church, while it is one completely opposed to their whole system, and is, elsewhere, almost in terms contradicted.

Such are some of the arguments derived from *general considerations* in favour of our view.

But, from the same source our opponents deduce various *objections* against the notion that Scripture is the sole authoritative Rule of faith, which we must now proceed to consider.

Some of these have been already noticed in connexion with the subjects of previous chapters. Others I shall consider when pointing out Scripture as the Judge of controversies, and the two principal, viz., the alleged *imperfection* and *obscurity* of the Scriptures, will form the subjects of the two following chapters.

But there are three which I shall notice here.

First; it is objected, that Scripture cannot be the sole authoritative Rule of faith to men, because a great number of men are not qualified to deduce the faith from it.<sup>1</sup>

To this objection we have already replied in a measure, but we shall here endeavour to show more fully how idle is this cavil against it. Were it even granted, that a great number of persons were in such a situation as is here supposed, (which, however, we altogether deny, as far as regards the fundamentals of the faith,) will that prove, that God has given us any other infallible guide? Will it make Patristical Tradition, Councils, or Pope, a sure and divine informant? It is useless

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. NEWMAN, Lect. 6; and "A rational account of the doctrine of *Roman Catholics* concerning the Ecclesiastical Guide in Controversies of Religion," by R. H. [i. e., ABRAHAM WOODHEAD,] 2nd ed. 1673. Disc. ii. c. 5. § 41. p. 139.

to reply, that if one of them is not so, God has not provided us with the means of salvation. For the question then would be, What is necessary to salvation? Is it necessary for any man to believe more than what Scripture plainly teaches? It is not for us to argue from what we may think it would have been desirable for God to do, but to accept with thankfulness what he *has* done for us, *and act according to the circumstances in which we find ourselves placed.* The question, then, as to whether Scripture is or is not the sole Rule of faith, must be determined independently of any such considerations as that which is here urged as an objection to its being so regarded.

Moreover, such cases could not prove, that, to men of even common education, Scripture was not well able to answer the purpose of a rule; and so, after all, would be but cases of a peculiar kind, not affecting our position as it regarded persons of any education.

Mr. Newman, indeed, tells us, that "the great proportion "even of educated persons have not the accuracy of mind "requisite for determining" the faith from Scripture, (p. 175); and that "Scripture is not so clear as to hinder ordinary persons who read it for themselves from being Sabellians," &c. (p. 178,) which is as much as to say, that the *inspired* writers of the Gospels have so imperfectly fulfilled their professed task of delivering the Gospel to the world, that even educated persons cannot tell what they mean; and to lay the blame of any misunderstanding, not upon the corrupt prejudices or carelessness of mankind, but upon inherent obscurity in the inspired Scriptures.

But, further, take the case of even an illiterate man. You want to instruct him in the truths of Christianity. Can you teach him what they are, better than our Lord and his Apostles, who wrote the books they have left us for the instruction of mankind at large in the doctrines of the faith? He will find difficulties in his way (it may be said) in acquiring a knowledge of these truths from them. Will he find none, then, in your teaching? Will he find Mr. Newman's Treatise on Justification, for instance, afford him better means



for arriving at the truth than St. Paul's account of the doctrine?

Still further, suppose this illiterate man, wishing to arrive at the knowledge of the truth, goes, first, (lured by the high-sounding terms, "Vicar of Christ," "Church," "infallibility," &c.) to a Romanist for an explanation of this doctrine, and being not quite satisfied, (as, I hope, without offence to our opponents, may be supposed to be the case,) turns to a Tractarian, and being so unfortunate as still not to have found what speaks peace to his conscience, turns to other interpreters of the doctrine of our Church for aid, and finds, upon comparison, that all three speak a different language, and all three stoutly aver, that Patristical Tradition is on their side. What is the poor man to do under such circumstances? May he not, without offence to our opponents, justly say, I must betake myself to that which all of you agree to be the word of God, and believe that which seems to me to be authorized by that word? Nay, I beg to ask, what else can he reasonably do?

Once more, let us suppose such a man to fall unhappily into the hands of Arians? All the three parties he formerly consulted will, no doubt, agree here, but the Arians will tell him, that they are all three in error. And here, again, both sides will appeal to Patristical Tradition; and the latter will tell him, that some even of their opponents were obliged to allow, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers were against them, and that Arius appealed to Tradition as in his favour. What, then, is he to do here? Is it very unreasonable for him to doubt, whether anything brought to him under the name of Patristical Tradition can be considered an unwritten word of God? Is it very unreasonable for him to go to what both sides consider the word of God, and to think that such passages as declare that "the Word was God," (John i. 1.) that "Christ is over all, God blessed for ever," (Rom. ix. 5.) that say of him, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," (Heb. i. 8,) and that call him "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty," (Rev. i. 8,) go as near to settle the question



as all which both sides have ever offered him? Is it very unreasonable for the poor illiterate man to say,—I can understand this, and I know it to be God's word, and am content; but nine-tenths of the arguments which Patristical Tradition and controversialists have supplied me with, are no doubt very learned and forcible, but quite beyond my reach, for I know nothing of Greek, or the principles of criticism, or anything of the kind, but still I do think that nothing can be plainer than these texts, and therefore I must let those who will, and can, wrangle on, while I rest here. At any rate, this is my safest course, with whatever difficulties it may be beset; for though you agree in hardly anything else, you all tell me, that the Bible is the Word of God, and therefore, if I humbly endeavour to follow that, I am surely in the safest path; and when you learned men have settled your differences, I shall be happy to hear from you again.

But if our opponents say,—All this may be very true, but then this poor man is bound to follow "the Church," I must be permitted to ask, upon whom he is to depend to point out "the Church" to him. Christians are as much at variance about this, so far at least as regards its constitution as a guide, as about anything else; and if it be added, that the marks of the true Church are such as to carry conviction to the mind of any one who can reason properly on such a matter, then you have turned your poor illiterate man into one able to judge where even able and learned men disagree, and therefore surely able to understand the plain statements of Scripture respecting the fundamentals of the faith. And if the Catholic Church is so easily discerned, will our opponents have the goodness to point it out with a little more precision than they have yet done; and then still further tell us, (the most important point of all,) how the voice of *that* Church can be so heard by this illiterate man as to be to him an *infallible guide*. Is he to read, or get others to read to him, all that the Fathers have written, and thus determine what is the meaning of Scripture? The very notion is absurd. The question, then, is, whether he is to take as his guide the word of God itself in the Scriptures, or the opinion of men as to the mean-

ing affixed to that word by Patristical Tradition. In one way, God speaks to him immediately, and *that voice can never be heard by man without rendering him responsible for obeying it*; in the other, he is left at the mercy of fallible men.

Our opponents, then, may conjure up as many difficulties as they please in the way of this poor man's arriving at a correct knowledge of the faith, and difficulties no doubt there are, (though, blessed be God, if he be a sincere and humble-minded inquirer, he has a heavenly guide who will not fail him,) but I would ask, *What can be the standard of truth to such a man*, amidst all the diversity of sentiment around him, *but his Bible*? If you take away that as his Rule of faith, you leave him either at the mercy of the party among whom he happens to be born, or to be tossed about without any guide, on a sea of opinions upon which the wind is blowing from all quarters of the compass simultaneously.<sup>1</sup>

The second objection which I would here notice is this, That heretics, and men advancing erroneous views, have always appealed to Scripture as the test of truth in proof of their errors, and therefore that Scripture cannot be the sole Rule of faith.<sup>2</sup>

Now, first, this is not true; for, as we have already seen, many of the heretics appealed to the interpretation of Scripture given by Tradition; others appealed to the Scriptures in a corrupt and mutilated state, adulterated to serve their purposes, (an appeal which is no evidence against the assertion that *the Scriptures* are competent to be the sole Rule of faith, and

<sup>1</sup> Another objection brought by Mr. Newman, but which it really seems unnecessary to notice more prominently than in this note, is actually derived from the "prejudices" of men, (p. 175,) from the "force prepossessions have in *disqualifying* us from searching Scripture dispassionately for ourselves." (p. 180.) So that Scripture cannot be the sole authoritative Rule of faith, *because* men allow themselves to read it under the influence of prejudices and prepossessions! To *state* such an argument is to demolish it. That imperfect education, and the prevalence of prejudices and prepossessions, render such teaching as will instruct the reason of men, and tend to remove their prejudices and prepossessions, most valuable, from whatever quarter it may come, is most true, but the argument derived from them by Mr. Newman is utterly untenable.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. NEWM. Lect. 7., and BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8.

moreover to determine controversies of faith) ; others tried to deter men altogether from the study of the Scriptures ; and the appeal, where made, was made to a few isolated passages, not to a connected view of the whole testimony of Scripture upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> And much the same may be said of modern heretics.

But suppose it were otherwise, will that prove that Scripture is not our sole Rule ? Because heretics, conscious of the claims of Scripture upon us, have endeavoured to make it speak their views, are we to libel the word of God, by accusing it of insufficiency to teach men the truth, and be their Rule of faith ? When the devil tried to deceive our Saviour by quoting Scripture, did our Lord send him to Tradition for the truth ? Did he not, on that as on every other occasion, go to the Written Word as *the* Rule ?

Nay, more, when heretics appeal to Scripture, does it not tend to show, how clearly the common sense of mankind points out Scripture as the Rule of faith, when those who are condemned by it feel themselves obliged to refer to it, and make it appear, if possible, in their favour ? They, indeed, who do not fear to accuse the Scripture of indistinctness and obscurity, may answer this in the negative ; but they who have some remaining reverence for God's word will, I think, hesitate to do so. For surely, if men can thus distort the meaning of God's word, they can do the same to the writings of the Fathers, if they think it worth their while ; and this, indeed, is what has been done in some cases, by those who were anxious to obtain the support of the Fathers.

Of all arguments, then, against the view for which we contend, this surely is one of the worst.

And what says our opponents' witness, Bishop Stillingfleet, to it ? His Romish antagonist had urged, " that our Rule of faith is common to all the heresies in the world, which pretend Scripture as well as we ;" to which the bishop replies, — " This is just the old sceptical argument against certainty ; if there be any such thing as certainty, you must assign such

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. v. § 7, vol. i. pp. 368 et seq.



“ a criterion which is not common to truth and falsehood ;  
 “ but if you cannot assign any such mark of truth which may  
 “ not as well agree to what is false, then there is no such  
 “ thing as certainty to be had. In matters of this nature the  
 “ proof must not lie in generals, but we must come to par-  
 “ ticulars, to show the grounds of our certainty, viz. as to the  
 “ Trinity and Incarnation of Christ ; and then, if we cannot  
 “ show why we believe those points, and reject the opposite  
 “ heresies, as Arianism, Sabellianism, Eutychianism, &c., then  
 “ we are to be blamed for want of certainty in these points,  
 “ but not before.”<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, it is objected, that men are taught in Scripture to look to the pastors of the Church for instruction, and therefore that Scripture was not intended to be the sole authoritative Rule of faith.

But, I ask, Is the Church to be heard in preference to God ? If not, Scripture is our guide in all things there delivered ; and he who believes that Scripture says one thing and the Church another, and follows the Church, is following man in preference to God. God has nowhere told us to go to the Church for the meaning of his own word. In the Scriptures he has spoken to us plainly, and the great duty of the minister of Christ is to bring before those who may be too ignorant or too careless to read, or too prejudiced to see, the truths which those Scriptures contain. “ If any man speak,” says the Apostle, “ let him speak as the oracles of God.”

But the *ministerial* duty of the pastor interferes not with the claim of the Holy Scriptures to be the alone supreme and divine Rule of faith. We may give their full value to the instructions of the pastors of the Church, without supposing them to be any part of the Rule of faith.

There are some observations on this matter in a treatise written by Dr. Clagett (the friend of Archbishop Sharp) and Mr. Hutchinson conjointly, in the great Popish controversy in the time of James II., so judicious and pertinent to our present

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Discourse concerning the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith. Lond. 1688. p. 50.



subject, that I shall here present the reader with an extract from them.

“ Although it be not only *every man's* right but *duty* also  
“ to inquire into the truth, and it be impossible but that he  
“ must *judge for himself at last*, yet this does by no means void  
“ the authority of spiritual guides and governors to lead the  
“ people committed to their charge into the knowledge of the  
“ truth. For instance, as in a matter of so great concern as  
“ the true interpretation of Scripture, I am bound to use my  
“ own judgment as well as I can, so for the same reason I am  
“ bound to use all the helps I can procure, but especially to  
“ hearken to the governors of that Church whereof I am a  
“ member, which I may certainly do without being obliged to  
“ follow them, right or wrong, unless a man must of necessity  
“ put out his own eyes because he hopes that he has a good guide.  
“ That all confusion must needs follow the liberty of private  
“ inquiry and judgment, is a thing that no declamations will  
“ ever persuade me to believe, when I know the contrary by  
“ my own experience. I was baptized and educated in this  
“ Church of England to the profession of Christianity: the  
“ Church laid before me, as it does before all, her doctrine and  
“ worship, and has given me means and liberty to *examine all*  
“ *by the Scriptures*, and by common principles of religion. I  
“ have done this as well as I can, and am mightily confirmed  
“ in that faith and profession which I took up first upon her  
“ authority. Now I will not presume to say, that the Church  
“ is obliged to me for taking this pains, but I must confess  
“ that I am not a little obliged to the Church for two things;  
“ both for instructing me in the sincere truth of religion, and  
“ for allowing me the liberty and the means to satisfy myself  
“ that she has done so; for whether she had taught me a doc-  
“ trine that would bear examination, it had been impossible  
“ for me to know, if I had not examined it. And I am so  
“ sure, that I am not the less but the more fast in the com-  
“ munion of this Church, and in submission to her authority,  
“ for having used this liberty, that a man may harangue all  
“ day long about the mischiefs of this liberty, and when he

“ has done, I shall need to do no more but to oppose my own  
 “ experience to his flourishes ; and it shall remain true, that  
 “ a Church which teaches the truth sincerely, can do herself  
 “ no greater right than to afford all manner of means and  
 “ opportunities to her members to examine what she teaches.  
 “ This, indeed, as well as other good things, may be abused,  
 “ but they that do abuse it shall have the worst on it, but the  
 “ Church is clear of all blame. And what our Lord said of  
 “ Wisdom, will be true of the Church, that she shall be justi-  
 “ fied of her children. I do not deny that this liberty is very  
 “ much for the disadvantage of a Church in one case, i. e., if  
 “ she teaches errors instead of truths, and for doctrines the  
 “ commandments of men ; for when this comes once to be  
 “ fully discovered, the discovery makes such a wound in her  
 “ as cannot be healed without a reformation, but otherwise  
 “ she shall linger of it till she dies. And therefore this *liberty*  
 “ *of private judgment and inquiring into the truth by the Scrip-*  
 “ *tures*, lays a mighty obligation upon all churches to be honest,  
 “ I mean upon their spiritual guides ; especially since, whether  
 “ they give this liberty or not, it will be taken more or less ;  
 “ not all the terrors of the world, nor fraud joined to force, can  
 “ totally suppress it. . . . Upon the whole matter, I can  
 “ neither see, that the free use of the Scriptures must needs  
 “ cause schisms, nor that the setting up of an infallible guide  
 “ must needs prevent them. But I am abundantly convinced,  
 “ that God has left us no infallible judge to determine for us,  
 “ and that he has left us *the Holy Scriptures to be the rule of*  
 “ *our faith*. I make not the least doubt, that God, for infi-  
 “ nitely wise and good reasons, has given us these means of  
 “ coming to the knowledge of the truth, and not the other.  
 “ I plainly discern this to be one, that the means of instruc-  
 “ tion and the evidence of truth which God has afforded us,  
 “ might be a touchstone to distinguish between the sincere and  
 “ the teachable, between the good and the honest heart on the  
 “ one side, and the insincere and dishonest on the other. And  
 “ sure I am, that God has appointed a day of judgment, in  
 “ which he will proceed according to that difference, and dis-  
 “ tinguish between these two, by rewarding the one and punish-

"ing the other . . . . The Holy Scriptures . . . . are *the only Rule*, and will at last prove the only means of ending those controversies that disturb the peace of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

Having thus endeavoured to show, that Holy Scripture is our sole infallible and authoritative Rule of faith, we shall now proceed to prove, in like manner, in opposition to the doctrine that Tradition or the Church is the infallible and therefore authoritative Judge of the meaning of the Divine Rule of faith, that Holy Scripture is the sole infallible Judge of controversies respecting the truths of revelation.<sup>2</sup>

And here we shall pursue the same course as before, considering—

I. The true meaning and extent of what is here asserted.

II. The arguments and objections which may be advanced respecting it.

I. As to the true meaning and extent of the assertion that Holy Scripture is the sole infallible Judge of controversies respecting the truths of revelation.

By this position, then, we mean, that it is in Holy Scripture only that we can meet with any infallible determination respecting the points in dispute. When controversies arise, Scripture only can decide and terminate them; and if Scripture does not terminate them, it is either because they concern things which are not there delivered, and which, therefore, do not come to us with the authority of divine revelation, or because Scripture is misinterpreted; and in either case there is no further *infallible* authority *on earth* to appeal to for judgment.

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of General Councils and the Rule of faith, by Dr. Clagett and Mr. Hutchinson. Lond. 1688. Reprinted in Bishop Gibson's *Preserv. Tit. iv. c. 2.* pp. 169—73.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, this point is included in the former, but as some are disposed to admit in words that Holy Scripture is the sole divinely-revealed Rule, but contend that Tradition or the Church is the infallible and authoritative expounder of the meaning of that Rule, it is necessary to give a distinct consideration to this point. And when we say, that Holy Scripture is not only the Rule of faith, but the sole infallible Judge of controversies respecting the truths revealed by it, it is of course only meant, that its testimony on the point in controversy is the only infallible testimony we can have on the question, in opposition to the Popish or Tractarian notions on the subject.



When, however, we call Scripture a *judge*, we of course mean, so far as any written document of the kind can be a judge; and this may be a sufficient answer to all the objections that the Romanists are accustomed to allege on this point; who, reckoning up all the things that a *living* judge can do, and showing that some of those things Scripture cannot do, draw the conclusion, that therefore Scripture cannot perform the office of a judge of controversies. But it does not follow, that, because a written law cannot perform all that a living judge can do, therefore such a law cannot be called, and be to a certain extent, a judge, and, if there be no other, the *sole* judge. No doubt, Holy Scripture cannot prevent men wrangling on, and a living Judge can sometimes do so by having the power of immediately inflicting punishment on any one who distorts the meaning or disputes the justice of his Sentence. But the Sentence may be given, the decision may be laid down, equally in one case as in the other.

For instance, take the case of the doctrine of the Trinity. One holds one doctrine respecting it, and supports it by Scripture; another holds another, and also supports it by Scripture. Can Scripture, it may be asked, be the Judge of such a controversy? We reply, It must be so, for we cannot get elsewhere any divine or infallible testimony on the subject. Nor can it be replied, that in that case there is no Judge; because we know, that Scripture does give a testimony and sentence in favour of one and against the other. And the only reason why it does not end the controversy is, that one side or the other misinterprets the Sentence. Certainly, it cannot say, as a living Judge can, You are right and you are wrong. But the testimony it bears to the truth is not the less decisive, and, to those who are willing to accept it, not the less convincing. That it will put an *end* to the controversy, is not in this world to be expected.

It is quite true, that the authorities of every church have a *subordinate* and *ministerial* authority to judge even in controversies of faith; but they do so, not as infallible, but as fallible witnesses to what they deem to be the truth. Every Church is justified, and more than justified, in laying down a



Confession of faith which may separate her from unorthodox Communions, and keep her own clear of vital error. But if she knows her duty, she does not do it in the presumptuous spirit of one who challenges infallibility, either from her own character, or as a witness of "Tradition." She does not claim authority over the consciences of men, but bears her testimony to what she believes to be the truth, and requires from those who desire to belong to her communion the maintenance of her creed.

I see no reason, therefore, why we should not, *with the Fathers*, (as I shall hereafter show,) give this appellation to Scripture; though, if it be made a question of words, we should be quite willing to substitute "standard of judgment," or any similar phrase that might be thought more appropriate to a written document; or to say with Chillingworth, that it is "the Rule to judge controversies by;" only protesting against anything else being lifted into the chair thus vacated.

We are here speaking, of course, of what exists *upon earth*; for otherwise, and speaking generally, Christ alone, as he is the Head of the Church, so is he the Supreme Judge of controversies in it: and indeed it is on this ground that we give to Scripture, as alone infallibly conveying to us his word, the place of Supreme Judge on earth; while we allow to men, in some cases, the privilege of being *subordinate* and *ministerial* judges, so far as respects particular Communions.

Let us consider,

II. The arguments and objections which may be advanced respecting this truth.

(1) From Scripture.

The foundation upon which this truth rests is, as we have seen, briefly this; That as God is the only infallible Judge of controversies in religion, and as his voice can be recognised with certainty only in the Holy Scriptures, those Scriptures are consequently our only infallible Judge of controversies on earth.

What we have here to show, therefore, is, that they are referred to in Scripture as bearing that character, or as being of a nature suitable for that purpose.

Thus, then, are they referred to even in the Old Testament ; —“ When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits . . . should not a people seek unto their God ?” And how are they to seek unto their God, to know his will in the matter ? By going “ to the law and to the testimony ” for direction and judgment, for this is the rule by which all other informants are to be tried ; and “ if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.” (Is. xx. 19, 20.)

*Our Lord himself not unfrequently appeals to them as performing the office of a judge.* “ He that believeth not,” he says, “ is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.” (John iii. 18.) How has God thus already condemned such ? By the sentence recorded in his Scriptures ; as the Apostle says, “ *The Scripture* hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by “ faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.” (Gal. iii. 22.) The Scripture is so formed as to act as a judge upon earth in such a case, and publish God’s Sentence.

Again, he sends the Sadducees to the Scripture as determining the doctrine of the resurrection. “ As touching the “ dead, that they rise, have ye not *read* in the book of Moses, “ how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God “ of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ? “ He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living : “ *ye therefore do greatly err.*” (Mark xii. 26, 27.) And in like manner he sends the Jews to the Scripture for judgment respecting himself, and his claims upon their belief. “ Search “ the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and “ they are they which testify of me.” (John v. 39.) And he tells them, that the judgment given by the writings of Moses so clearly condemned them for their unbelief, that they might be said to accuse them before the Father. “ Do not think “ that I will accuse you to the Father ; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me ; for he wrote of “ me. But if ye believe not his *writings*, how shall ye believe “ my words ?” (John v. 45—7.) The judgment given in the

writings of Moses, then, was sufficiently clear in favour of our Lord, in the judgment of God, to make the Jews guilty, if they did not so understand them, and receive him of whom they testified. Hence it follows, that Scripture may be variously interpreted by men, and yet give in the sight of God an amply sufficient and clear judgment, to bring those in guilty before him who do not interpret it aright. And the reason is plain; because, in all important points, men are prevented only by their own prejudices, corruption, or carelessness, from rightly understanding it.

On another occasion he speaks, if possible, still more clearly of the word he had himself delivered,—that word which is recorded in the Gospels—as bearing that character. “He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, *hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken*, the same shall judge him in the last day.” (John xii. 48.) That word we possess in the Scriptures.

Shall we say, then, that the Scriptures containing that word are insufficient, and ill calculated to act as a judge now to us on earth, when we are told expressly, that that word will be our judge at the future day of account? Is it not equally calculated to act as a judge now to us on earth, as it will be at the future day of account at the bar of Christ? And if by that word we are to be then judged, then the statements of that word are clear and determinate, and sufficient of themselves to determine all controversies on the *essentials* of the gospel at least; and it will be our wisdom to use it now for the same purpose, and “judge ourselves” by it; making that our rule of judgment here, by which we are to be judged hereafter. And if this is done with simplicity and sincerity, and prayer to God for his blessing, we know, from the promises of a faithful God, that such an inquirer shall not err fundamentally.

To these passages we might add those which speak of the efficacy and power of God’s word in enlightening and influencing the mind, all tending to show the *suitableness* of Scripture to perform this office.

Thus, the Apostle Paul speaks of the word of God as



“effectually working in those that believe,” (1 Thess. ii. 13,) and as “quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.” (Heb. iv. 12.)

I proceed to notice,

(2) The arguments and objections which may be derived from general considerations.

First, then, I argue thus :—God alone can infallibly determine controversies in religion, but men in general have no sufficient certainty of hearing his voice anywhere but in the Scriptures ; and therefore, the sole infallible Judge of such controversies in the present state is Scripture. Even according to the principles of the Tractators, it undeniably follows, that if “Tradition” is not the word of God, and that God’s word alone is infallible, (which, I suppose, will not be disputed,) whatever cavil may be urged against Scripture as unable to pronounce judgment so as to end controversy, it alone can act the part of an infallible Judge in such matters. For, all that we have to consider in finding such a judge is, first, Where the supreme authority for pronouncing a decision rests ; and then, How we are to obtain that decision. And if we are forced to allow, that such authority is in God alone, and that we have no assurance of hearing his voice anywhere but in the Scriptures, it necessarily follows, that Scripture only can give any infallible determination respecting the point in dispute. If there is no decision on the matter recorded there, there is no certainly-divine testimony concerning it ; and if the matter is not plainly delivered there, it is not plainly revealed to us ; and no man can be required to believe more than is there said respecting it.

Man may be the medium through whom a knowledge of the determinations of Scripture may be conveyed, i. e. he may deliver them to me from Scripture, and point out to me those passages upon which his views chiefly rest, and I may be brought to the belief of a doctrine upon that testimony ; but the proof of the doctrine rests entirely upon the authority of



Scripture, and not on the testimony of the bearer that such and such is the meaning of Scripture, from whatever source that interpretation may be derived.

Secondly,—That Scripture is the sole authoritative Judge in controversies of faith that respect fundamental points, follows from the fact, that there is no other judge whose orthodoxy can be assumed without proof, and consequently without our ascertaining, in the first instance, that for which we want a judge.

The catholic consent of the Primitive Church to which our opponents send us, is, as we have shown, a mere dream of the imagination. The faith of the Catholic Church cannot be so adequately witnessed to us as to make any producible representation of it an infallible guide. Freedom from fundamental error could only be assumed of the catholic consent of the Church, either as the whole body of professing Christians, or as the body of true believers—"the blessed company of all faithful people." Taking the word "Church" in either of these senses, we may justly say, that the catholic consent of the Church would be (if we could ascertain it) an infallible guide. But in neither of these senses is it attainable.

And hence, it is absurd to talk of the Church, of any age, being an infallible guide to the truth, even as a witness, because, taking the word Church in that sense in which alone infallibility could be predicated of it, its witness is unattainable, and so cannot be a guide *at all* to us.

Nay, even in the highest points, not only is catholic consent incapable of proof, but the partial consent adduced is met by counter-statements, pleading an opposing witness of equal authority.

For instance, take the case of Arian, Nestorian, or Pelagian errors. Arius, as we have seen, appealed to Antiquity as in his favour, and not only were there several dissentients to the decision come to at Nice, but not long after, at another Council composed of nearly twice as many bishops, *the opposite doctrine was maintained*. Can we appeal, then, to the decision of the Nicene Council as infallible, as binding the conscience to

belief, as authoritative? Augustine knew better than to do so. When disputing with Maximinus the Arian, what is his language? "But now," he says, [i. e., while arguing this question] "*neither ought I to bring forward the Nicene Council, nor you that of Ariminum, as if we could thus settle the question. Neither am I bound by the authority of the one, nor you by the authority of the other. We must argue the matter point with point, cause with cause, reason with reason, BY AUTHORITIES OF SCRIPTURE, witnesses not belonging to any party, but common to both.*"<sup>1</sup> Was not this, then, to make Scripture the Judge of the controversy?

Now this decision of the Council of Nice is, perhaps, the best entitled of anything that has come down to us from the Primitive Church to be considered as speaking the language of the Catholic Church. If, then, even this must be given up, as not *in itself* binding the conscience to belief, is there anything else that can be said to do so?

The case is precisely similar as it respects the Nestorian and Pelagian errors. Nestorius appealed to Antiquity, and to this day his party form a large episcopal Communion, claiming descent from the Apostles as much as any other. With respect to Pelagian errors, we have already seen, that Patristical testimony was appealed to as in their favour, and that, to say the least, the appeal was not destitute of foundation.

We must take heed not to be deceived by names and words, nor to take it for granted, that this or that body forms "the Church," from our having been accustomed to attach that title to it. The Apostolic admonition to every man is, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." It is easy to claim a high-sounding name, and then, on the strength of it, condemn others. But we must recollect, that the name "Church" has been claimed by all parties, and all have professed to be attached to and defenders of the doctrines of

<sup>1</sup> Sed nunc nec ego Nicanum nec tu debes Ariminiense tanquam præjudicatus proferre concilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris; Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet. AUGUST. Contra Maximinum Arian. lib. ii. c. 14. § 3. Op. ed. Ben. tom. viii. col. 704.

the Church of Christ, and almost all parties have more or less claimed Patristical Tradition as in their favour. When, then, we attach the name Church to this or that body, if we mean it to apply to one deserving of being followed as a *guide*, we must have some sufficient reason to give in proof of its being entitled to that name; and what *sufficient* reason can there be, which does not include orthodoxy in the fundamentals of the faith, and orthodoxy that is not overlaid by the *addition* of fundamental errors?

All that we can obtain for any age, as the testimony of the Church, is the witness of a certain number of individuals or representative bodies; and this witness may, in some cases, be entitled to considerable respect, as doubtless it is in the case of the Primitive Church; but in no case can it be authoritative over the conscience. The orthodoxy of such witnesses must be proved before we can accept their testimony as authoritative, and then, their office of *judge* has been forestalled.

Do we, then, maintain, that we cannot speak of the Universal Church having held or ordained this or that? nor that this is an argument in favour of what is so supported? By no means, taking the words in a *general sense*. But let us understand, what meaning must be affixed to the words, and how far the argument is tenable. When we speak thus, we speak of that which *we* hold to be the Universal Church, excluding what we reckon heretical Communions; and moreover, of decisions which can only, in a general and popular sense, be reckoned decisions of the Universal Church, for the proof of their being such is wholly lacking.

And in matters of discipline and non-essential points of faith, much is to be allowed to the authority, not merely of the Universal Church as far as it can be ascertained, but of any pure portion of it. The God of peace and order requires this of us. We are not to divide and throw into confusion a Scriptural Church for the indulgence of our own humours in such points. But in fundamental points the case is different. When arguing with an Arian, or abstractedly on the subject of Arian or other fundamental errors, it is a mere deception to

talk of the Universal Church being of a contrary mind. We must decide these points before we can know who constitute the Universal Church, that is, the *orthodox* Universal Church, which alone could be a guide.

Before we can admit a claim made for any individuals, or any body of men, to be a summary Judge of controversies of faith, we must ascertain that they are orthodox in the faith, and therefore ascertain from an independent source, what the orthodox faith is ; after which we need not their decision.

And still further, if we are looking for a *safe guide*, we must also ascertain, that the fundamentals are not overlaid, as in the Church of Rome, with *fundamental error*, endangering the salvation of all who are in her communion ; for, as Bishop Sanderson says, "The doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome " do not directly and immediately overthrow the foundation of " faith, as the heresy of the Arian Churches did, but *mediately* " and by NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE they do, as in the points of " merits, mass, transubstantiation," &c.<sup>1</sup> And so Archbishop Laud, "A church may hold the fundamental point literally, " and as long as it stays there, be without control, and yet " err grossly, dangerously, nay, damnably, in the exposition of " it. AND THIS IS THE CHURCH OF ROME'S CASE."<sup>2</sup> And therefore he tells us, "There's peril, great peril of damnable, " both schism and heresy, and other sin, by living and dying " in the Roman faith, tainted with so many superstitions, as " at this day it is, and their tyranny to boot." "I do, indeed, " for my part, leaving other men free to their own judgment, " acknowledge a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church ; " but so as that which I grant to Romanists, is not as they are " Romanists, but as they are Christians, that is, as they " believe the Creed, and hold the foundation, Christ himself, " not as they associate themselves wittingly and knowingly to " the gross superstitions of the Romish Church." "All " Protestants unanimously agree in this, *that there is great* " *peril of damnation for any man to live and die in the Roman* " *persuasion* ; and you are not able to produce any one Pro-

<sup>1</sup> SANDERSON'S Disc. concerning the Church. Lond. 1688. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> LAUD'S Answer to Fisher, § 37, No. 5.



“testant that ever said the contrary. And therefore, that is “a most notorious slander, where you say, that they which “affirm this peril of damnation are contradicted by their own “more learned brethren.”<sup>1</sup> Such is the Church of which our opponents say, “*We are at peace with Rome*,”<sup>2</sup> and call this sentiment *Anglicanism*.

Where, then, I ask, amidst all this diversity of sentiment, this clashing of Fathers and Councils and rival “Churches,” where is there any secure resting-place for the sole of the foot, but in the ark of God’s written word? which, amidst the angry waves of controversy, floats calm and uninjured above all, bearing over them, in perfect safety, all those who have, *in reliance upon the divine promise, humbly* taken refuge in it; and as the waters of confusion swell around it, is only exalted by them to a higher elevation, and more distinctly exhibited as the only place of safety and peace.

Thirdly,—The claims of Scripture to be the sole infallible Judge of controversies of faith, are strongly supported by the fact, allowed by all, that the *words* of Scripture alone proceed from inspired teachers.

This concession (which cannot be withheld) is most important. For, in the delivery of doctrines, especially those of a more mysterious nature, accuracy in the expressions used is essential to the conveying accurate ideas to the mind of the reader. And when any one who has himself only a certain portion of light with respect to them, attempts to convey a notion of them to others, even though he may have been correctly instructed in them, he is continually liable to be using expressions open to misconstruction and capable of an unorthodox sense. It is more than probable, that he may have in his eye some error opposed to the truth which he is delivering, and, to avoid the error, he uses language open to error of an opposite kind. This is a defect which we continually meet with in the Fathers, and in the points which were the chief subjects of dispute in the Early Church, viz., those connected with the person of Christ. The consequence is, that it is impossible to prove their consent in them, even

<sup>1</sup> Ib. § 35, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> NEWMAN’S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 253.

where they may have consented. In the doctrines of religion, therefore, we want the expressions dictated by the Divine mind, because in them only we have a representation of those doctrines which we can be sure is free from error, and which needs only a strictly *fair* interpretation to lead us to a knowledge of the truth. Hence St. Paul reminds us, that when the Apostles delivered the mysteries of God, they spoke "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." (1 Cor. ii. 13.) These expressions we can find in Scripture only. It is not pretended, that Patristical Tradition can furnish us with the *expressions* of the oral teaching of the Apostles. And hence Scripture has peculiar claims on this ground to be considered the final and sole infallible Judge of controversies of faith.

But our opponents have various objections to urge on this head.

First,—The Scripture cannot be the sole Judge of controversies, because it does not carry with it its own interpretation; which, in other words, is saying, that, even in the fundamental points of faith, it is not intelligible.

"The Bible," says Mr. Newman, "is not so written as to force its meaning upon the reader;" and therefore the notion of "the Bible without note or comment being the sole authoritative Judge in controversies of faith, is a self-destructive principle."<sup>1</sup> "They must either give up their maxim about the Bible and the Bible only, or they must give up the Nicene formulary. The Bible does not carry with it its own interpretation."<sup>2</sup> "That Scripture," says Bellarmine, "is not the Judge, is evident; because it admits different meanings, and cannot tell us which is the right one."<sup>3</sup>

Now here Mr. Newman has almost saved me the trouble of making any reply, for he has supplied something very like one himself; for, as he justly remarks elsewhere,—"It surely may be maintained, not only that the Scriptures have but one direct and unchangeable sense, but that it is *such* as in all greater

<sup>1</sup> Lect. pp. 34, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 292.

BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 9.

“ matters to make a *forcible appeal* to the mind, when fairly “ put before it, and to *impress it with a conviction of its being “ the true one.*” (p. 165.) Truly so ; and I think it might be considered a sufficient answer to the objection ; for though there is the saving clause—“when fairly put before the mind”—yet surely this “forcible appeal” and “impression conveying conviction,” can only be supposed in the case of Scripture distinctly and clearly pointing out its own sense to a careful reader ; for if I say, that such a book teaches this or that doctrine, and when the book is perused, its teaching is so in favour of that doctrine, as to make a “forcible appeal to the mind” of men, “and impress it with a conviction” of its being there taught, that doctrine must be clearly pointed out there ; and consequently, in the case of any man of sufficient education to know the meaning of its words, there can be no need of any authoritative interpreter, or of my insisting upon being heard first, lest he should attach a different meaning to them. At any rate, it is only necessary that its truths be “fairly put before the mind” to enable it to act as Judge, and that is the duty of the ministers of Christ.

But further ; upon what is this objection grounded ? It stands upon the tacit supposition, that the fundamental doctrines of the faith are so doubtfully stated in Scripture, that men may *with reason* attach different meanings to the statements there made respecting them. Now this, we maintain, is utterly at variance with the objects which the Evangelists had in view in penning the Gospels, and therefore contradicted by the fact of their being the subjects of divine inspiration for the purpose of enabling them to communicate the faith clearly and faithfully to mankind. The diversity of sentiment prevailing among men on points of faith, as it respects the fundamentals, arises, we contend, not from the language of Scripture being dubious,—for in all such points (as the Fathers witness) it is clear and plain,—but from the preconceived notions and prejudices of men, who come not to the Scriptures with humility and simplicity of mind, seeking the truth in sincerity. These truths are stated in Scripture, so as to convince all who are willing to receive them ; and such only

are in a condition to receive them, *from whatever quarter* they may be proposed to them. They are placed before men, as our Lord's teaching and miracles were before the Jews. There is sufficient evidence for the conviction of all who are open to the reception of the truth. The word of God makes a "*forcible appeal*" to the conscience in behalf of the truth. And this is all the *force* which comes from a Divine source. And the truth having thus been clearly placed before men, they are responsible to God for their conduct with respect to it. Nor does their rejection of it, and misinterpretation of the Scriptures to meet their own views, any more prove that the Scriptures are insufficient to convey the truth to the minds of impartial men, than the rejection of our Lord by the Jews, and the different opinions entertained respecting him, prove that he gave insufficient evidence of the truth of his divine mission.

And when Mr. Newman says, that "we must give up our maxim about the Bible and the Bible only, or we must give up the Nicene formulary," he, in fact, says that the Bible does not speak the language of the Nicene formulary so as to give any *proof* of its truth; which leaves to that formulary nothing but an uncertain tradition to rest upon, and thereby overthrows the only sure foundation upon which the orthodox faith is founded.

And still further, they who will persist in perverting Scripture to speak their own views, will as readily make Antiquity speak them too, *when it is worth their while to do so*. And of this we have, as has been already observed, divers pregnant instances.

Let us hear our opponent's witness, Bishop Stillingfleet. "They [i. e., the Romanists] grant," he says, "that there is a great difference in the points contained in Scripture, of which some are allowed to be simply necessary to salvation, as those which are required to baptism; and Bellarmine yields, 'That all these points are certainly contained in Scripture, and were the things which the Apostles constantly preached to all people;' who cannot be denied to have been capable of understanding these things, when they heard them preached; and *how could they lose the capacity*



“ of understanding them, when they were written ? And if they  
 “ might still understand them, then the Scripture hath no  
 “ such mysterious knots, but all points necessary to salvation  
 “ may be understood by the people. *So that as to these points*  
 “ *of greatest importance, the Scripture must be left as a legacy*  
 “ *to all Christians, and not only to the guides of the Church.*  
 “ But J. S. craves leave to explain himself, and it is great  
 “ pity to deny it him. ‘ Mistake me not,’ saith he, ‘ I do not  
 “ mean Scripture’s letter is not clear in such passages as  
 “ concern morality . . . but in dogmatical points or tenets  
 “ which are spiritual and oftentimes profound mysteries, as a  
 “ Trinity, Christ’s Godhead, the real presence of his body in  
 “ the sacrament, and such like, and in such as these, our rule  
 “ is not intelligible enough to keep the followers of it from  
 “ erring.’ [Precisely the argument of the Tractarians.] I  
 “ answer, Either the Apostles preached these points to all  
 “ persons as necessary to their salvation, or they did not. If  
 “ not, how come they to be necessary to be believed now ? If  
 “ they did, then the people were capable of understanding  
 “ them when they heard them ; and therefore *may as well*  
 “ *understand them when they read them.* [Manifestly taking  
 “ it for granted, that they are as fully and clearly delivered in  
 “ the Scriptures, as in the oral preaching of the Apostles.] I  
 “ do not mean the manner as to the Trinity and Incarnation,  
 “ (as to Transubstantiation, I know nothing in Scripture  
 “ about it, either as to thing or manner,) but the revelation  
 “ of such a doctrine. So that if these points be owned to be  
 “ necessary to salvation, they must be so plain, that men may  
 “ understand their duty to believe them. For that is the  
 “ bound I keep myself within, that all things necessary to  
 “ salvation are so plain, that we may be certain of our duty  
 “ to believe them ; but if not, we may err without prejudice  
 “ to our salvation.” <sup>1</sup>

Secondly, it is objected, that Scripture cannot be the sole  
 authoritative Judge of controversies, because, in all the prin-  
 cipal controversies of faith, the meaning of Scripture is the

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET’S Discourse concerning the nature and grounds of the cer-  
 tainty of faith, pp. 81—83.

great point in controversy, and both sides claim Scripture as in their favour; and thus no controversy can be decided.

"The Bible," says Mr. Newman, "is not so written as to force its meaning upon the reader; no two Protestant sects can agree together whose *interpretation of the Bible* is to be received." . . . . "Accordingly" "the notion of the Bible, without note or comment, being the sole authoritative Judge in controversies of faith, is a self-destructive principle." (pp. 34, 5.) And so among Bellarmine's reasons why Scripture cannot be the Judge, one is this, that "the question is concerning the interpretation of Scripture, and it cannot interpret itself." (De Verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 9.)

But this objection proves nothing more than that there are persons who misinterpret Scripture. It is no proof, that it is not a very sufficient judge of such controversies; and still less any proof, that it is not the *sole* infallible judge that God has given us. Nay, when we consider how many feelings there are in the natural mind, tending to alienate it from the love of the truth as revealed in the gospel, and how many impediments there are to a reception of it, can it be a matter of surprise to us, that a revelation, the true meaning of which has so much opposition to contend with, should be variously interpreted? its mysteries explained away, and its truths lowered to the standard of men's corrupt imagination? And is it to be argued, that, because of this, that is, because men cannot be brought to see and confess the truths there revealed, the revelation is insufficient to show men the truth? The question is, not whether men interpret the Bible variously, but whether, that being the case, the fault is not *in man*, and not in the Bible being fairly open to different interpretations in the essentials of the faith?

Let us consider the consequence of such reasoning as our opponents here adopt. It follows from it, that on none of all the various points that heretics have ever controverted, is Scripture clear enough to decide the dispute. For instance, Scripture tells us, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" from which impartial men would, we suppose, be

ready to think, that the Scripture plainly declared thereby, at least as much as *this*, that Christ appeared in human nature. But no, we must not draw any such conclusion; for the Valentinians and others did not receive this truth, and gave another interpretation to such Scriptures; and therefore we must not appeal to Scripture as *determining* this point. And so we might run through almost every truth in the Christian system; and, because it has been denied by some who have professed to receive the Scriptures, say, that the Scriptures do not distinctly determine the matter.

Thus again, for instance, Scripture says, that "The Word was God," &c. Even Arians, therefore, conclude from this passage, that Christ must be, in some sense *at least*, God. But the Socinians explain such texts so as to comport with a denial of the divinity of the Son in any sense. Hence, say our opponents, we can draw no certain conclusions from such texts. That is, if a man chooses to assert that two and two make five, we must obtain some *infallible* mathematician to decide between us, before it can be determined satisfactorily that two and two make four. And what is the triumphant reply of the Socinian? He will say, "You grant, then, that the Scriptures may *not unreasonably or absurdly* be considered to have the meaning which I have attributed to them: I am content, therefore; for I leave Tradition to those who like it, and abide by what I have good reason to believe to be the word of God. Give me the Bible, and I will willingly give you Tradition."

Nay, further, as we have so often had occasion to observe, if *we* go to Tradition, so do *others*. The Arians, the Nestorians were loud in their appeal to Tradition; and some of the orthodox have admitted, that their appeal was not without reason.

"In the Samosatenian, Arian, Pelagian, Nestorian, and Eutychian controversies," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "neither of the parties disowned Scripture or Tradition; and those who were justly condemned, pretended still to adhere to both. And if such flames could not be prevented so much

“nearer the Apostles’ times by the help of Tradition, what reason can there be to expect it so long after?”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Newman himself allows, that the Judgment of the Fathers may be most easily evaded or perverted, if there be the inclination to do so; being forced thereto by the use made of the Fathers by the Romanists. “Romanists,” he says, “are obliged by their professions to appeal to Antiquity, and they therefore do so. But enough has been said already to suggest, that where men are indisposed towards such an appeal, where they determine to be captious, and take exceptions, and act the disputant and sophist rather than the earnest inquirer, *it admits of easy evasion, and MAY BE MADE TO CONCLUDE ANYTHING OR NOTHING.*” (Lect. p. 68.) In other words, where men are so inclined, the Fathers may be alleged in support of opposite views as well as the Scriptures. How is it, then, that they are able to decide controversies any more than the Scriptures? The Nicene Creed itself has received an unorthodox interpretation.<sup>2</sup> The fact is, that to attempt to bind heresy by words, is as useless as to try to bind it with chains.

The Romanists, seeing all this, urge the necessity of some infallible judge being ever present with the Church to decide what Scripture and “Tradition” do really deliver; and, upon the principle of our opponents,—that nothing is clear, nor can be a rule of faith or judge of controversies, about the meaning of which men disagree,—there is, no doubt, a need of some court of appeal of that kind.<sup>3</sup> And our opponents, though they would hardly admit that they have embraced this doctrine, yet often practically come very near it. I say *often*, because their language, and especially that of Mr. Newman, is so contradictory, and assumes such opposite forms, as to be perfectly Protean. But, to avoid the necessity of a direct assertion of the infallibility of the present Church

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET’S Discourse on the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> See DUPIN’S Eccles. Hist. (Dublin ed.) vol. i. p. 655. col. 2. sub fin., and the works of WHISTON.

<sup>3</sup> And of this Mr. Newman before long became convinced.



in delivering the testimony of Tradition, they ingeniously try to get over the difficulty, by declaring that "Tradition" is perfectly clear and indisputable, "a fact obvious to the intelligence of inquirers," when the only fact certain is, that people are all at variance about it.

Most justly, however, has an able Roman Catholic writer, quoted in a former page,<sup>1</sup> observed, when defending the position, that "*some controversies of religion may be decided by the Holy Scripture alone*," (instancings, among others, that "against the Socinians, that Christ had a being before he was conceived of the Blessed Virgin,")—"If controversies were not decided but only when they are ended, few would be decided by the Scripture alone. For it seldom happens, that clamours and debates are silenced by being condemned. Much less can this be expected from the word of God alone. For whilst men have their passions about them, they will either pronounce the Scripture itself apocryphal, or put it upon the rack that it may not bring them in guilty. *A dispute is decided, when the case is fairly and peremptorily judged by due authority.* But it ends not commonly till the disputants please. And it seldom or never comes to this, till those that are in the wrong be either *divested of their passions* or DIRECTED BY FEAR." [Which is true enough, and so the Romanists take the latter course for ending controversies.] . . . "The Socinians, (if sincere,) without seeing their error, give a forced interpretation to all the texts of Scripture which prove the immortality of human souls, and that the Word had a being before it was made flesh. But, in rigour, a controversy is then decided, when nothing but a strong prejudice can hinder a man from seeing that it is really determined. *For a trifling reply is no reply at all.*" To which he adds,—"Hence Dr. Stillingfleet's exceptions against all Scripture proofs, for the unerring authority of the Catholic Church in necessities, are no demonstration that this point is not decided by the Scripture."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. HAWARDINE. See above, vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

<sup>2</sup> HAWARDINE'S *The rule of faith truly stated*. 1721. 12mo. Pt. iii. pp. 290—295.

The last paragraph will, perhaps, explain how it happened, that he came to make remarks so adapted for the confutation of one of the favourite arguments of his own party; but they are perfectly just, and doubly forcible from the mouth of a Romanist.

And we find here a very sufficient reply to the whole of R. II.'s elaborate ironical "Plea of the Socinian," in his "Guide in Controversies;" for the whole of it amounts to this,—that, upon the Protestant principles, the Socinian will always have something to say for himself, for he will aver, that he has read the Scriptures, and they appear to him to favour his view, &c. &c., and consequently that the Romish mode of settling the dispute will alone silence him. I answer, What then? Our object is, not to *silence*, but to *convince*. And does it show, that the controversy is not decided, because the Socinian declares, that he is not convinced? And I the rather notice this, because our opponents often use the same argument.

That the Scripture, therefore, cannot be expected to *end* controversies, that is, to put a stop to them, is most true; nor will anything else of the kind, as the declaration of the Apostle,—“There must be heresies,” (1 Cor. xi. 19,)—may teach us. There is but one way of *ending* controversies, and that it is to be hoped will evermore be left in the hands of Rome. To end them by persuading all men of the truth, is a work which One only can perform, even that omnipotent Spirit who alone can give the spiritual discernment necessary to enable men rightly to discern spiritual things. (1 Cor. ii. 14.)

Still further; we find that the very hearers themselves of our Lord and his Apostles, who possessed the reality of this Tradition to which we are referred, in all its fulness and purity, propagated divers errors as part of the Christian faith. If, then, a reference to the Bible in support of error proves that the Bible does not plainly state the truth, it follows, by the same reasoning, from the above fact, that the truth was never plainly delivered at all; for the argument is, that when

truth is plainly delivered, every man who hears must receive and embrace it, and cannot, through prejudice or any other cause, distort what is delivered to a different meaning from the one intended ; which is just the old Romish argument, that " men never question things that are evident ;"<sup>1</sup> to which Bishop Stillingfleet very justly replies, that " there may be *sufficient evidence* where all men are not persuaded by it."<sup>2</sup>

Nay, more ; this very objection appears to me to support the view for which we contend. For the fact that Christians are so divided as to the meaning of the Scriptures, while they all agree as to the inspiration of the Scriptures, seems at once to point out the Scriptures as the sole infallible guide. For, they who are so divided in opinion among themselves cannot be our guide ; and if we are compelled to make a selection from among them, how can we do it but by the guidance of the inspired volume ? There is no note, *independent of doctrine*, by which we can ascertain who are the genuine followers of Christ. With one of our opponents' own most learned witnesses (Bishop Morton), then, we say, that this is precisely the reason why we must have recourse to the Scriptures ; " we cast our eye unto Scripture the pole-star, *especially in so tempestuous a night of opposite contentions.*"<sup>3</sup>

The Holy Scriptures have evidences sufficient to convince the reason of every man that they come from God. Moreover, all the different sects of Christians agree in this. They disagree as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and as to the oral teaching of the Apostles, but they agree in referring to the Scriptures as the word of God. Here, then, we are on sure ground ; and every man, conscious that he will have to answer before God as an individual, has to inquire, what the Scriptures reveal to him as the way of salvation.

Even in civil matters we are bound to a certain extent to exercise our private judgment as to what is the law of the land. Suppose, for instance, a case of disputed succession or such-

<sup>1</sup> Labyrinthus Cantuar. p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Rational Account, &c. p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> MORTON'S Cath. Appeal, ii. 7. § 10. pp. 175, 176.

like, in which the Acts of Parliament relating to the question received from the judges and men learned in the law different interpretations. Whatever our qualifications for judging of their meaning might be, we should be driven to the *necessity* of exercising our private judgment upon the meaning of those Acts, unless we chose to be driven like sheep by one party or another, because they declared that they were the most numerous, or chose to assert that they were infallible. Now this is a very similar case to that before us. Our opponents maintain, that we must go to a certain body among professing Christians to tell us what is the meaning of the word of God, and receive their interpretation as infallible, because that word is interpreted in various ways. It appears to us, that this is the very reason why we should *not* take the interpretation of any set of men as *infallible*, but are of necessity compelled, as reasonable creatures responsible to God, to exercise our private judgment in the matter.

The very objection, then, made against the Scripture being taken as our Rule and Judge, from the fact that men differ in their interpretation of it, is the best argument that can be adduced in favour of its being so.

Let us again hear our opponents' witness, Bishop Stillingfleet, on this point. "If Christ be the eternal Son of God in opposition to heathen deities, and we can know him by Scripture to be so, then we may as well know him to be the eternal Son of God in opposition to Arians and Socinians. If, against the heathens, we can prove from Scripture, that the Word was made flesh, why will not this as well hold against Nestorians and Eutychians? *And so the Scripture becomes a very sufficient Rule to distinguish light and darkness in such points among Christians too.* For is it ever the less fit to be a Rule because both parties own it? 'But they differ about the sense of it, and therefore controversies can never be ended by it.' If Church-history deceive us not, the greatest controversies were ended by it, before General Councils were heard of, and more than have been since. Many of those we read of in the first ages were quite laid



"asleep, as Theodoret observes (Hæret. Fab. 1. 2. 3.) ; but  
 "since Church-authority interposed in the most reasonable  
 "manner, some differences have been perpetuated, as appears  
 "by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. I do not  
 "blame the authority of Councils, *proceeding as they then*  
 "*did by the Rule of Scriptures*, but the event showed, that the  
 "most probable means are sometimes very ineffectual for  
 "*ending controversies*. . . . It is possible to stop men's  
 "mouths by force and power, but nothing brings men to a  
 "true satisfaction but inward conviction as to the true sense  
 "of Scripture, and there can be no rational certainty as to  
 "these points without it. If controversies be not ended, let  
 "us not blame the wisdom of Providence, for God doth not  
 "always appoint the means most effectual in our judgment,  
 "but such as are most suitable to his own design. And we see  
 "reason enough to blame the folly and weakness, the preju-  
 "dice and partiality, the wilfulness and obstinacy of mankind,  
 "and till human nature be brought to a better temper, we  
 "may despair of seeing any end to controversies. . . . He  
 "saith, 'Scripture is not our distinguishing rule of faith, but  
 "our own particular judgments about Scripture ; for that which  
 "distinguishes my rule from that of the most abominable  
 "heresies, can only be my own judgment upon the letter of  
 "Scripture, and wriggle which way I will, there it will and  
 "must end at last.' I wish Mr. S. had been a little better  
 "conversant in the old disputes about certainty, for it would  
 "have saved me the trouble of answering some impertinent  
 "objections, such as this before us. For they would have  
 "been thought mean logicians who could not put a difference  
 "between the *rule of judgment* and the *judgment* which a man  
 "made according to the rule. Suppose the question were  
 "about sense, whether that were a certain rule or not to  
 "judge by ; and Epicurus should affirm it, and say, he so  
 "firmly believed it, that he judged the Sun to be no bigger  
 "than he seemed to his senses ; would not he have been  
 "thought ridiculous who should have said this fancy of  
 "Epicurus was his rule ? The rule he went by was in itself

“ certain, but he made a wrong judgment upon it; but that  
 “ was not his rule. So it is here. *We declare the Scripture*  
 “ *to be our only certain and standing rule whereby we are to*  
 “ *judge in matters of faith;* and we understand it as well as  
 “ we can, and form our judgments by it; but doth it hence  
 “ follow, that our judgment is our rule? . . . . He objects,  
 “ ‘That our people do not make Scripture the rule of their  
 “ faith, not one in a million relying upon it.’ . . . . Have  
 “ they, then, any other rule of faith which they rely upon?  
 “ What is it, I pray? Is it the Church’s infallibility? No.  
 “ Is it Pius the Fourth’s Creed? No, truly; ‘while they are  
 “ children, they believe Tradition.’ Now, I think, J. S. hath  
 “ hit it. *Tradition is, indeed, a rule of faith for children, who*  
 “ *are very apt simply to believe their fathers and teachers.* But  
 “ suppose they come to years of discretion, what rule of faith  
 “ have they then? Have they a judgment of discretion then?  
 “ . . . Whatever he insinuates as to our people, I have reason  
 “ to believe *far better of them; and that all those who mind*  
 “ *their salvation, do seriously read and consider the Holy Scrip-*  
 “ *tures as the Rule of their faith.* But if in matters of opinion,  
 “ or in doubtful or obscure places, they make use of the skill  
 “ and assistance of their teachers, wherein are they to blame?  
 “ *The Scripture is still their Rule;* but the help of their teachers  
 “ is for the better understanding it. And cannot our logician  
 “ distinguish between the *Rule of faith* and the *helps to under-*  
 “ *stand it?* Suppose, now, a mother or a nurse should quit  
 “ ‘honest Tradition,’ as J. S. here calls it, and be so ill in-  
 “ clined as to teach children to spell and to read in the New  
 “ Testament, and by that means they come by degrees to un-  
 “ derstand the doctrines which Christ preached, and the mira-  
 “ cles which he wrought, and from thence to believe in Christ,  
 “ and to obey his commands, I desire to know into what these  
 “ persons do resolve their faith. Is it indeed into those who  
 “ taught them to read, or into the New Testament as the  
 “ ground of their faith, *when they have been all along told that*  
 “ *THE SCRIPTURE ALONE IS THE WORD OF GOD, and what-*  
 “ *ever they are to believe, it is because it is contained therein?*

“ And so, by whatever means they come to understand the  
 “ Scripture, it is *that alone they take for the Rule and founda-*  
 “ *tion of their faith. . . . We never require them to trust wholly*  
 “ *to our judgments, but we give them our best assistance, and*  
 “ *call in the old interpreters of the Church, and we DESIRE*  
 “ *THEM TO USE THEIR OWN REASON AND JUDGMENT WITH*  
 “ *DIVINE ASSISTANCE for settling their minds. . . .* ‘ But sup-  
 “ pose,’ saith Mr. S., ‘ that one of my own flock should tell  
 “ me, that I have erred in interpreting Scripture, he desires  
 “ to know what I would say to him.’ This is a very easy  
 “ question, and soon answered. I would endeavour to con-  
 “ vince him as well as I could. ‘ And is that all?’ And  
 “ what would J. S. do more? Would he tell him he was  
 “ infallible? I think not; but *only as ‘ honest Tradition’*  
 “ *makes him so, and how far that goes towards it I shall exa-*  
 “ *mine afterwards.* Well; but suppose ‘ John Biddle, against  
 “ the Minister of his parish and the whole Church of Eng-  
 “ land to boot, understands Scripture to be plainly against a  
 “ Trinity and Christ’s divinity.’ And it is but fair for me to  
 “ suppose him maintaining his heresy against J. S., and let  
 “ any one judge whether of us be more likely to convince  
 “ him. He owns the Scripture, and confesses if we can prove  
 “ our doctrine from thence, he will yield; but he laughs at  
 “ oral Tradition, and thinks it a jest for any one to prove  
 “ such a doctrine by it. And truly, if it were not for the  
 “ proofs from Scripture, I do much question whether any  
 “ argument from mere Tradition could ever confute such a  
 “ one as John Biddle. But when we offer such proofs as are  
 “ acknowledged to be sufficient in themselves, we take the  
 “ only proper way to give him reasonable satisfaction. ‘ Sup-  
 “ pose he will not be convinced?’ Who can help that?  
 “ Christ himself met with wilful and obstinate unbelievers.  
 “ And was this any disparagement to his doctrine? God  
 “ himself hath never promised to cure those who shut their  
 “ eyes against the light. . . . I had said many years ago, ‘ That  
 “ the Scriptures being owned as containing in them *the whole*  
 “ *will of God, so plainly revealed that no sober inquirer can miss*

“ of what is necessary for salvation, there can be no necessity  
 “ supposed of an infallible society of men, either to attest or  
 “ explain these writings among Christians, any more than  
 “ there was, for some ages before Christ, of such a body of  
 “ men among the Jews to attest or explain to them the  
 “ writings of Moses and the Prophets.’ And where lies the  
 “ heresy or danger of this doctrine? If I said, that no sober  
 “ inquirer can miss of things necessary to salvation in Scrip-  
 “ ture, it is no more than St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine,  
 “ Aquinas, and other schoolmen had said before me. . . . I  
 “ shall now sum up my answer in these particulars. I. Every  
 “ Christian, as such, is bound to inquire after the true way to  
 “ salvation, and hath a capacity of judging concerning it.  
 “ II. Every Christian, proceeding according to the best rules  
 “ of judging, hath reason to receive the Scripture as *the Rule*  
 “ *of his faith.* III. *The Scripture is so plain in all necessities,*  
 “ *and God hath promised such assistance to them that sincerely*  
 “ *seek it, that none who do so, shall want the knowledge of such*  
 “ *things as are necessary to their salvation.* IV. *When any-*  
 “ *thing is offered as necessary to be believed in order to salvation,*  
 “ *every Christian hath a right and liberty of judging, whether*  
 “ *it can be proved by the Scripture to be so necessary or not.*  
 “ V. We do not allow to particular persons the same faculty of  
 “ judging in doubtful points of controversy which we do as to  
 “ matters that immediately concern their salvation. VI. *No*  
 “ *pretence of infallibility or authority can take away that right*  
 “ *of judging which was allowed them by the Apostles whose*  
 “ *authority was infallible.* VII. This right of judging doth  
 “ not exclude the Church’s due authority as to matters of  
 “ faith and controversies of religion (as it is declared Art. 20  
 “ of our Church); but all that we now plead for, is not any  
 “ authority as to others, but a right of judging as to them-  
 “ selves in matters that concern their salvation. VIII. *THE*  
 “ *CERTAINTY OF FAITH AS TO THEM DEPENDS UPON TWO*  
 “ *THINGS; 1. THE CLEARNESS OF SCRIPTURE ABOUT THEM,*  
 “ *WHICH IMPLIES THE CERTAINTY OF REASON. 2. THE PRO-*  
 “ *MISE OF DIVINE ASSISTANCE WHICH MAKES THEIR FAITH*



" DIVINE, BOTH AS TO ITS PRINCIPLE, ITS GROUND, AND ITS  
 " EFFECT. . . . *The most certain way we now have to know what*  
 " *doctrine the Apostles taught is by their writings, since they*  
 " *taught and wrote the same doctrine, and we are certain we*  
 " *have the doctrine they wrote ; but we have NO OTHER WAY TO*  
 " BE CERTAIN WHAT DOCTRINE THEY TAUGHT. . . . *The Scrip-*  
 " *ture being our sole and ENTIRE Rule of faith, all matters*  
 " necessary to salvation must be supposed to be contained  
 " therein. . . . *The point, then, between us is, whether the Scrip-*  
 " *ture were left only to the Church to interpret it to the people*  
 " *in all points, or whether it were intended for the general good*  
 " *of the whole Church, so as THEREBY TO DIRECT THEMSELVES*  
 " *in their way to heaven, and, consequently, whether it may*  
 " not be opened and understood by all persons in matters  
 " that are necessary to their salvation. . . . They cannot deny,  
 " that the Scripture was designed to be a certain and infal-  
 " lible Rule of faith TO ALL. . . . If a rule be in itself certain,  
 " and be certainly received for a rule, that is surely enough  
 " to make it a rule to a man ; but it is not necessary to the  
 " being of a rule, that a man can never deviate from it by his  
 " own fault. For there is no intellectual rule can be assigned,  
 " but it is possible for a free agent to deviate from, although  
 " he do at the same time profess it to be his rule. Do not all  
 " Christians agree, the commands of Christ to be an infallible  
 " rule of life ? And J. S., by his admirable logic, will either  
 " prove this not to be a rule, or that it is impossible for men  
 " to sin. . . . Persons may own the Scripture to be a most cer-  
 " tain and infallible Rule as to truth and falsehood, and they  
 " are sure, while they effectually regulate themselves by it,  
 " they can never err ; but while they profess to do it, they  
 " may. So that all Mr. S.'s subtilty vanishes into nothing by  
 " so plain and easy a distinction. Therefore, I am still of the  
 " mind that A RULE OF FAITH IS THAT WHEREBY WE ARE TO  
 " JUDGE WHAT WE ARE BOUND TO BELIEVE AS TO DIVINE  
 " REVELATIONS."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Discourse conc. the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith, pp. 51—80.

Thirdly,—It is objected, that, from the variety of opinions maintained as to the meaning of Scripture, it follows, that if Scripture is the sole infallible Judge, having authority over the consciences of men, the Church would be thrown into confusion and disorder.<sup>1</sup>

Here, again, the objection does not *reach* far enough to be of any use ; it shows, at most, only the inconveniences that might result from Scripture being the sole Judge.

But further, we deny that such inconveniences do result from it. The objection rests upon the tacit supposition, that a Church cannot justly excommunicate those who deny the fundamentals of the faith or maintain fundamental errors, unless it possesses in one way or another some infallible and authoritative judge besides the Scripture to determine with authority the meaning of Scripture. This sentiment is in terms avowed by Mr. Newman ; yes, and even professedly deduced from an Article of our Church, which, as his own favourite witness Leslie has already informed him, means nothing of the kind. “In the 20th Article,” he says, “we are told, that the Church has ‘authority in controversies of faith.’ . . . But how can she have this authority, unless she ‘be *certainly true* in her declarations ? . . . To say the Church ‘has authority, and yet is not true, [i. e., *certainly* or infallibly true,] as far as it has authority, were to destroy liberty of conscience ; which Protestantism, in all its forms, holds especially sacred ; it were to substitute something besides truth as THE SOVEREIGN LORD OF CONSCIENCE, which would be tyranny. If this Protestant principle is not surrendered in the Article, which no one supposes it to be, the Church is, to a certain point, there set forth as *the organ or representative of truth* ; and its teaching is *identified* with it.” (pp. 226, 7.) So that the *Protestant* principle of *private judgment* assumes, that “the Church” is “*certainly true*” in her declarations ; and therefore, as “the organ of truth,” is “THE SOVEREIGN LORD OF CONSCIENCE ;” and “the Church” must

<sup>1</sup> See NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 34, &c. ; and BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, iii. 9.

be infallible in her declarations, because otherwise she would have no right to be (as it is here assumed she is) "the sovereign lord of conscience."

Now, did it never strike Mr. Newman, that the authorities of a Church may have a *ministerial* authority over the members of that Church, though they do not thrust themselves into the throne of God, as "*the sovereign lord of conscience*;" and that, by that ministerial authority, the Church may be preserved pure, and heretics and offenders cut off from its communion, quite as well as if they claimed higher authority, and boasted of themselves as being an infallible guide?

They to whom the government of any Church is entrusted, are bound to preserve it from the infection of fundamental error, by the administration of discipline; to cut off obstinate heretics from its communion; and, above all things, not to permit those who hold what it deems to be fundamental errors to minister in it. Hence our Lord says to the Church of Thyatira, "I have a few things against thee; because "thou *sufferest* that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a "prophetess, to *teach* and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols." (Rev. ii. 20.)

But, for this there is no need, either that it should be infallible, or that it should possess in Patristical Tradition an infallible guide. It acts as an assembly of fallible beings, responsible to God for the support and maintenance of his truth, as far as the moral influence of its verdict can extend; and responsible also for that verdict being such as is authorized by the revelation God has given us. Every faithful Church is a witness for God, and can bear witness as well and as successfully to the truth, by a plain and modest assertion of it, as by any presumptuous claim to infallibility. But it must be remembered, that *every individual* is *also* responsible to God for what he believes; and that God has not left him altogether to the teaching of man, but has given him certain inspired writings containing a revelation of the truth; and that while men are at variance respecting the meaning of those writings, they all agree, that those writings are inspired,

and contain that doctrine according to which he is to be judged by Christ hereafter.

Our opponents argue as if Scripture was addressed merely to the pastors of the Church to tell them how they are to teach ; whereas it is addressed to mankind at large ; and is a universal gift, for the use of which all are accountable. Consequently, however right it may be for a man to use all the helps he can obtain for ascertaining the meaning of those Scriptures, he is responsible to God, as one who has possessed in them an infallible declaration of God's will, and therefore as one bound not to depart from their apparent meaning in vital points ; and to follow this or that body, in such points, only so far as they appear to him to follow the Scriptures. Men have not been left to the pastors of the Church to teach them the faith ; otherwise the case would be, in some respects, different. God has given them another guide, and one which all parties allow to be infallible, viz., the Scriptures ; and one, therefore, which they are responsible for using, in preference to everything which may be proposed to them through the medium of fallible men.

Nor is this exercise of the right of private judgment at all chargeable with presumption. On the contrary, it is a duty necessarily imposed upon us by our individual responsibility to God, and which every man must perform *to the best of his ability* ; and for such a performance of it, and such only, is he responsible. "To expound Scripture," says Dean Sherlock, "is to make us understand it, not to impose upon our faith " without understanding ; and therefore this is not so much " an act of authority, as of skill and judgment ; any man who " can so explain Scripture to me as to make me understand " it, shall gain my assent ; but *no authority is sufficient to " make me assent, without understanding.* And yet such a " catholic expositor our author would set up, whose *authority " shall make me grant that to be the sense of Scripture, which " his reasons and arguments cannot persuade me of.* But all " reasonable creatures must understand for themselves ; and " Christ nowhere commands us to believe that to be the sense



“ of Scripture, which we cannot understand to be so. I know no necessity that all Christians should agree in the interpretation of all difficult texts of Scripture: there is enough in Scripture plain to carry men to heaven; and as for more difficult and obscure texts, they are for the improvement of those who can understand them, and need no such catholic expositor; because it is not necessary that all men should understand them.”<sup>1</sup>

But such an exercise of the right of private judgment is, according to Mr. Newman, an assumption of *infallibility*. “The multitude of Protestants,” he says, “consider every man his own judge; they hold, that every man may and must read Scripture for himself, and judge about its meaning, and make up his mind for himself; nay is, as regards himself and practically, *an infallible judge of its meaning*—infallible certainly; for, were the whole new creation against him, Bishops, Doctors, Martyrs, Saints, the Holy Church Universal, the very companions of the Apostles, the unanimous suffrage of the most distinct times and places, and the most gifted and holiest men, yet, according to the popular doctrine, though he was *aware* of this, he ought ultimately to rest in his own interpretations of Scripture, and to follow his private judgment, however sorry he might be to differ from such authorities.” (pp. 319, 20.)

Now here are a vast number of very big words heaped up, but to very little purpose. Here are “the whole new creation,” “the Holy Church Universal,” “the unanimous suffrage of the most distinct times and places, and the most gifted and holiest men,” all shaking their heads at us, and warning us that it is at our peril to attach any meaning to what God has said to us in the Scriptures, other than what they tell us is to be affixed to it. Such an apparition is, no doubt, very alarming; and some people who are frightened by big words, begin to think, that it really would be very presumptuous to differ from such authorities. *And so do I too.* But

<sup>1</sup> W. SHERLOCK’S Vindication of some Protestant Principles, &c. Lond. 1688. 4to. p. 99.

when we come to close quarters with these spectres, we find them vanish into thin air; and "the whole new creation" leave nothing behind them to tell us what meaning they did affix to the Scriptures, but the mutilated works of a few fallible authors of the Primitive Church. The right of private judgment, then, involves no such presumption as Mr. Newman would here lead us to suppose. And however much men may misinterpret the Bible, they have in it at least an infallible guide; and as long as they adhere closely to it, in the sincere desire to understand it, and with prayer to God to enable them to do so, will not be suffered by a faithful God to err fundamentally; while, as it respects the Fathers, they are at almost every step liable to be led astray; for they are met at the very threshold of their inquiry by a multitude of difficulties, all of which must be cleared up, before they can proceed satisfactorily. They must determine the meaning of doubtful passages; they must know how many Fathers are sufficient to constitute a safe guide; they must ascertain that these are not contradicted by others; they must determine various other points in which they are exposed to innumerable errors, through inexperience and prejudice; while after all, at the best, they get nothing more than a fallible guide, which cannot relieve them from the duty of ascertaining for themselves what God has delivered in the Scriptures.

Moreover, the rights of the Church and the right of private judgment are by no means incompatible with each other; nor need any confusion or disorder arise in the Church from the doctrine for which we contend. It is necessary for the well-being of the Church to lay down what it holds to be the doctrines of Scripture as a protest against the misinterpretations of heretics, and to expand that Confession of faith from time to time according as heresies arise, in order to keep her communion as far as possible pure. And this holds good of a particular Church as well as of the whole Universal Church. And in both cases it is done on the responsibility of those who do it; and done, not as if the determination was infallible, but as a protest against supposed error, and a safeguard to protect

the communion of those who make it. The *validity of their sentence* against the supposed heretic depends upon whether they are right or not, and this God alone can infallibly decide ; while nevertheless they must act as if they were right.

It is in consequence of her taking this course, I conceive, that our Church has sometimes been most unjustly accused by her enemies as one that always disowned infallibility, but always acted as if she were infallible. Here, as it often happens in such cases, truth has been sacrificed for the sake of an antithesis, but if the word *right* had been inserted in the latter clause instead of *infallible*, the remark would have been perfectly true, and have imputed nothing blameworthy. For, if men were not to act, and act with energy and vigour, according to what they believed to be true and right, because they were not infallible, they must cease to act at all. But there is a vast deal of difference between acting with energy, according to that which we believe to be right and true, and claiming infallibility. There is a limit to what we do in the first case, as the annals of our Church will testify. There is no limit in the other, as the annals of the Church of Rome will prove.

"As for that objection against our Church," say Dr. Clagett and Mr. Hutchinson, "which is of late so much "insisted upon by some, that notwithstanding the liberty she "gives to private Christians to examine her doctrines by the "Scriptures, she yet peremptorily requires the profession of "that faith which she teaches, and conformity to her rules of "worship, there is nothing in it to surprise any man but the "intolerable vanity of the objections. For this is so far from "being unreasonable, that for the same reason that she does "the one, she may and ought to do the other ; that is, because "she is certain, that the conditions of her communion are "justifiable to the whole world, therefore she should neither "fear to insist upon them, nor to provoke all persons to the "examination of them by any proper methods whatsoever. "This objection, however, runs a little cross to the other, that "the liberty our Church gives must needs cause disorder and "confusion. For why there must needs be disorder where a

“ Church’s faith is fixed, and a form of worship established,  
 “ and conformity required, and no just cause of offence given,  
 “ I cannot understand, unless it be, because it must needs be,  
 “ that some men will be very unreasonable, and others will be  
 “ very wicked, after the best care is taken to direct them in  
 “ their duty, and oblige them to it. If they of the Roman  
 “ Church can tell how to prevent this infallibly, it is a secret  
 “ which they have as yet kept to themselves. For our own  
 “ parts, we are altogether ignorant of any way that shall make  
 “ it impossible for men that are endued with freewill to abuse  
 “ it, whether by making wrong judgment or a wrong choice.  
 “ Our Church hath fixed terms of communion which are truly  
 “ catholic, and leaves every one to judge for himself whether  
 “ they be so or not, affording to every one the liberty of using  
 “ all means that they can in order to the making a right judg-  
 “ ment, *and therefore of using the Scriptures*, which are not  
 “ only the best in themselves, but which also *come within the*  
 “ *compass of the abilities and leisure of all, more or less.* We are  
 “ to use the liberty of judging for ourselves by these means,  
 “ under this consideration, that we are to be accountable for it  
 “ at the day of judgment. . . . This is the provision that God  
 “ hath made for the maintaining of truth and peace in his  
 “ Church; that governors cannot abuse their authority in  
 “ commanding, nor the people their liberty of judging whether  
 “ the command can be obeyed with a good conscience, but at  
 “ the peril of their souls. . . . As for those that impute the  
 “ disorders and schisms of the Church to *the liberty of judging*  
 “ *by the Scriptures which we allow*, I would be glad to know,  
 “ what means they are provided with to ascertain the unity of  
 “ communion.”<sup>1</sup>

When the authorities of any Church separate one who  
 obstinately maintains what they deem to be fundamental error  
 from their communion, they do so, not as persons possessing  
 any infallible guide besides the Scriptures, but in the exercise  
 of the ministerial authority given to them by the Church, and  
 each party is responsible to the great Head of the Church

<sup>1</sup> On the Authority of Councils and the Rule of Faith. See Bp. Gibson’s  
 Preserv. vol. i. tit. 4. c. 2. pp. 170, 171.



alone for their conduct. There is no infallible tribunal on earth before which he can be arraigned, and therefore nothing can be justly done beyond such an act of separation. None have authority over his conscience. The whole matter must be referred to Christ's tribunal at the day of judgment; and if the authorities of the Church have been in error, *they* will be the persons to suffer punishment, and not he who, knowing from the Scriptures what the real doctrines of the faith are, and seeing that those authorities were leading him astray, determined to obey God rather than man; while, if he had obeyed man rather than God, he would have been involved in the same condemnation with them; for no one, I suppose, will pretend, that his obedience to them would exempt him from punishment.

But with this ministerial authority, and the concession of the right of private judgment to individuals as to the meaning of God's word in points upon which their salvation depends, our opponents are altogether dissatisfied. No; they must either wield the sceptre of infallibility, or they can do nothing, and every thing must take its own course, and go to confusion.

The real fact is, that our opponents are carried away, like many Papists, by the notion, that there must be some infallible guide to be found somewhere to "force" upon men the true meaning of the Scriptures, because, otherwise, they see clearly, that professing Christians will always be divided as to its meaning, and that even an orthodox Church can no more claim to be considered an infallible witness than those who are supporters of error. If, then, this staggers any one, let me put it to him, whether this is at all dissonant from God's ordinary dealings with mankind. We have a revelation given us of the Christian faith in a fourfold account of our Lord's life and teaching. We have above twenty Epistles written by inspired authors to various Churches, amplifying and explaining that revelation. We have various Churches and individuals among Christians, holding forth in their public acts and confessions the light of truth, and bearing witness to the true meaning of Scripture and the orthodox faith. Is this sufficient, or not, for the conviction of men? Is not such a

state of things precisely in accordance with the ordinary course of God's dealings with mankind?

But, with this state of things the lovers of Church-authority will not be satisfied. They must wield a power over the consciences of men to bind them to belief in what they deliver, otherwise, they tell us, there will be no end of controversies and heretical sects. Now, is not this the very source of their errors, that they expect that there should be in this world an end of controversies and heretical sects? The Apostles had no such expectation. They tell us, that there must be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest. (1 Cor. xi. 19.) We entertain, therefore, no such expectation; and, consequently, when we are told that if the Bible is the sole authoritative Judge of controversies in religion, there will be no end of controversies and heretical sects, for that the Bible cannot force people to believe the truth, we reply, that this is perfectly true, but no reasonable ground of objection against the view for which we contend, for this is a trial which the Church of Christ ought to expect and look for, as the natural consequence of the present state of things. While human nature remains what it is, there will be dissensions among men on such points. But this does not bring confusion into any Church that is watchful in maintaining her orthodoxy, though it be a trial to which, as a Church militant, she is necessarily exposed. And though it would carry me too far from our present subject to enlarge upon the remark I am about to make, I would suggest to the reader the inquiry, how far a claim to be considered an infallible guide would be likely to tend to the purity or the peace of any Church that made it.

Our opponents seem ready to think, that if "the Church," i. e., according to their use of the phrase, the collective body of the pastors of the Church, has not authority over the consciences of men, the ministerial office is useless; that if an ultimate appeal to the Scriptures lies open to all men, and men may judge for themselves from them what is the truth, we may as well leave them, at least in adult age, to the Scriptures as their alone teacher. What! Have we not

abundant room for our ministrations, in endeavouring to remove prejudices, to lead the mind to trains of thought suited to bring it into a state of willingness to receive the truth, to obviate the effects of man's carelessness and indifference to religion, by laying before him the truths of God's word, and pointing out to him their true meaning, (which he is often too indifferent about to search out,) to study the word of truth *for him*, and show him, by the collation of passages, what the mind of God is; to remove the objections which his humour or prejudices may start; to point out to him the number, the qualifications and *the piety* of those who in past times have maintained such views of divine truth, (I say their *piety*, for "by their *fruits* ye shall know them," not by their *Apostolical Succession*, which may be very good, while their doctrine is very bad;) and lastly, to press all home to the heart by earnest and affectionate exhortations and warnings; and then, as fallible men, leave it to the conscience to do its work, and to the final decision of the Supreme Judge to pronounce an *infallible* judgment? But no: all this is insufficient, because there are some who will not thus embrace the truth, and we *must* have, in one way or another, *some infallible judge upon earth*, in order to *make* people believe, and wield a power over their consciences which belongs to the Supreme Judge alone. And to create a judge that has some appearance of infallibility, a certain number of big words and high-sounding phrases, such as "the Church," "Catholic consent," "the consent of *all* Christians from the beginning," (which either have no meaning at all, or else cannot be defined until we have determined the very thing for which this infallible judge is wanted, viz., the fundamental faith,) are thrown together, and there arises from the compound an idol, to which men are taught to bow down as the infallible expounder of God's will, the authoritative Judge of controversies in religion.

Lastly,—It is objected, that if Scripture is the sole infallible Judge of controversies of faith, it follows, that men may interpret it as they please, and cannot be blamed, whatever errors they may maintain; and that the only fundamental doctrine is the inspiration of the Bible.

Astounding as such an objection is, and obvious as is its illogical nature, it is put forth as something wholly undeniable, and boasted of as a difficulty which nothing can remove. They who maintain the view for which we contend, "seem to allow," says Mr. Newman, "or to be in the way to allow, that truth is but matter of opinion, that *that is truth to each which each thinks to be truth*, provided he sincerely and really thinks it, that *the divinity of the Bible itself is the only thing that need be believed*, and that *its meaning varies with the individuals who receive it*, that it has no one meaning to be ascertained as a matter of fact, but that it may mean any thing, because it is said to mean so many things;" and they have adopted "the latitudinarian notion that one creed is as good as another." (pp. 35, 6.) And this "principle of popular Protestantism" "tends by no very intricate process to the recognition of Socinians and Pelagians as Christians." (p. 291.) I need hardly add, that the objection is only an echo of a Romish one; <sup>1</sup> and a Romish one (be it observed) urged, like the rest, against *that very Church and those very men whom our opponents profess to follow in this matter.*

I feel bound to say, that this appears to me just like the last refuge of a disputant driven into a corner, and vexed at finding that he has not a single loophole of escape left; for any argument more groundless, any conclusion more unwarranted by the premises, any statement containing a more complete libel against God's word, never was devised as the last shift of a controversialist.

Mr. Newman's statements go even beyond the objection, as we have worded it, and altogether pass the bounds of reasonable and temperate discussion; for his words (as quoted above) clearly charge us with maintaining, that the Scripture really *has* as many meanings as are *given* to it; so that in the hands of one person it *really teaches* Trinitarianism, and in the hands of another it *really teaches* Socinianism. *I here call upon Mr. Newman, as a man of truth, to point out any authority for this*

<sup>1</sup> Account, &c. of Guide in Controversies, by R. H. [*i.e.* Abraham Woodhead] as above quoted.



*statement, such as will justify him in so making it, or to acknowledge his inability to do so.*<sup>1</sup>

But, take the objection in its best form, and what does it amount to? That if every man is to believe only as his private judgment of the meaning of Scripture directs him, he who follows his private judgment is not blameworthy, however erroneous his faith may be.

Now here, obviously, the conclusion is wholly unwarranted by the premises, for there are many causes tending to mislead the judgment for which a man is *responsible*, and blameworthy if they lead him into error. Such are, in this case, want of attention to the subject, indifference, worldly-mindedness, prejudices, aversion to the truth, negligence of the means of information, and of those helps which are suited to aid him in his inquiries into the meaning of God's word. And the true question is this, whether he who comes to the Scriptures with a sincere desire to know the truth, doing the will of God as far as he knows it, carefully, earnestly, and impartially endeavouring to ascertain the sense of Scripture, with prayer to God for his blessing upon the perusal of it, shall ever fail of obtaining a knowledge of its meaning in all fundamental points. All these things are within the power of every man, and he is blameworthy if he neglects any of them. We contend that this question can only be answered in the negative. No man thus coming to the Scriptures shall fail of obtaining a knowledge of the fundamental truths revealed in them; and for the proof of this position we have their sufficiency (to be proved more fully hereafter) to teach the faith, the character and promises of God, and the testimony of Antiquity to the plainness with which all such points are delivered therein.

It follows, then, that every man is responsible to God for deducing the right faith from Scripture, and blameworthy if he does not.

The primary false principle in the objection of our op-

<sup>1</sup> I need hardly say, that Mr. Newman has never attempted to do this.

ponents is, as throughout, the *assumption*, that Scripture is so ambiguous in its delivery of the fundamentals of the faith, that if God has not given us an authoritative interpreter whom we are bound in conscience to follow, we are *not responsible to him* for deducing the right faith, even *in essentials*, from Scripture, and *not blameworthy* if we maintain that it teaches Socinianism, Pelagianism, or anything else. Such is the character which our opponents affix to God's word in the Scriptures !

Nay more, it is broadly intimated, (however inconsistently with other parts,) that if we were left to Scripture alone, Socinians would have a very good defence to make. For, says Mr. Newman, "It is urged against them, [i. e., by Socinians against those who hold our views,] that, though the texts referred to *may* imply the catholic doctrine, yet they *need not*; that they are *consistent with any one out of several theories*." (p. 292.) Now, if this is *justly* urged, and in that case only is it worth referring to, what becomes of Mr. Newman's remarks about *Scripture-proof* for doctrine? And in what does his view differ from that which he professes to repudiate, viz., that Scripture is like a nose of wax, that can be turned any way? In fact, he has here *countenanced* the very notion which we have just seen him charging upon his opponents as an absurdity; viz., that Scripture "may mean anything, because it is said to mean so many things." "Or, at any rate," it is added, "that other persons think so." What then? Is everything ambiguous that people dispute about? Let us take a case for an illustration of this point. What is the opinion entertained by a great number of professing Christians, as to the best means of obtaining happiness in this world? Is it not, that it is to be derived almost solely from earthly sources? And if you press them with texts of Scripture bearing upon this point, have they not their reply ready, explaining away the passage so as to suit their own notions, and adducing others in defence of them? According, then, to Mr. Newman's mode of reasoning, the New Testament is altogether ambiguous upon this point, and

we need some authoritative interpreter to tell us what it means; and he who chooses to think that it authorizes his earthly-minded career, is *blameless* before God, if there is no such interpreter.

Mr. Newman proceeds,—“It is urged against them. . . . “that these others have as much right to their opinion as the “party called orthodox to theirs; that *human interpreters have “no warrant to force upon them one view in particular; that “private judgment must be left unmolested,”* &c. No; this cannot be justly urged against us, for this is what we hold. We do not “*force*” upon men “one view;” we do leave “private judgment unmolested;” but these objections are fairly urged against our opponents, because, when they claim infallibility, they do *force* upon men one view, and grievously molest private judgment. We hold, indeed, that Scripture has a clear and definite meaning in all necessary points; and that he who does not hold its meaning in such points, is fundamentally wrong; and therefore that every Church is bound to keep its communion pure, by separating from itself those who, in its view, are obstinate heretics, and bearing its testimony to the erroneousness of their tenets; but we hold, also, that there is no such authoritative infallible Judge of controversies of faith on earth, as can bind the conscience to the belief of any meaning it may affix to the word of God; even though that meaning be taken from what is called the “consent of the Fathers.”

And having thus libelled the Word of God, and accused it of being altogether of doubtful meaning, because some persons misrepresent its meaning, and attacked the Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment, Mr. Newman triumphantly concludes, “This *reasoning*, granting the first step, is irresistible;” and he tells us, that, “though certain individuals are “not injured by the principle in question, [i. e. of the Bible “being the sole authoritative Rule of faith,] the body of men “who profess it are, and ever must be, injured. For, the “mass of men, having no moral convictions, are led by reasoning, and by mere consistency of argument; and legitimately

“ evolve heresy from principles which, to the better sort of  
“ men, may be harmless.” (pp. 293, 4.) That is, men who  
are led by *reasoning*, and by *mere consistency of argument*,  
LEGITIMATELY EVOLVE HERESY from adhering to Scripture as  
the sole authoritative Rule of faith.

May God in his mercy pity and forgive such libels against  
the precious boon he has bestowed upon us in his Holy Scrip-  
tures, and not visit the sin upon our Church, in withdrawing  
from us altogether the light of that book so little prized, and  
leaving us again to grope our way in the darkness to which  
some among us would fain reduce us !

Nor let it be forgotten, that this objection is just as tenable  
against the views of our opponents, as against those for which  
we contend. For, as we have already shown, Patristical  
Tradition may be, and is, quoted on all sides. And, as  
Bishop Stillingfleet says,—“ Why may not men mistake the  
“ sense of Tradition, as well as the sense of Scripture? Is  
“ Tradition more infallible in itself? Is it delivered by  
“ persons more infallible? Doth it make those to whom it is  
“ delivered infallible? Why, then, may not those who  
“ deliver it, and those who receive it, both be mistaken about  
“ it? ” In the tradition of “ Christ’s being the Son of God,”  
“ the traditionary words may be kept ; and yet an heretical  
“ sense may be contained under them. Mr. S. answers,  
“ ‘ That the sense of the words, and all the rest of Christ’s  
“ doctrine, is conveyed down by tradition.’ This is bravely  
“ said, if it could be made out ; and would presently put an  
“ end to all disputes. For, if all the doctrine of Christ be  
“ derived down to us in such a manner that we cannot mis-  
“ take the sense of it, we must be all agreed, whether we will  
“ or not. . . . But let us see, how he proves, that men cannot  
“ mistake the sense of Tradition in particular points. The  
“ force of what he saith is, ‘ That men were always men, and  
“ Christians were always Christians ;’ and Mr. S. is always  
“ Mr. S., pretending demonstration, when there is nothing  
“ like it. If men were always men, they were always apt to  
“ be deceived ; and unless Christians, by being such, are  
“ infallible, they are liable to mistakes. ‘ But the highest



“ means to convey the sense of words, are to be found in  
 “ Tradition.’ I am quite of another opinion; *I think it the*  
 “ *most uncertain way in the world; and the corruptions of the*  
 “ *first ages of the world are an evident proof of it*, when there  
 “ were all possible advantages of Tradition; and yet the  
 “ principles of natural religion were strangely corrupted,  
 “ although they were plain, easy, few, of the highest import-  
 “ ance, and men lived so long to inculcate them into the  
 “ minds of their children.” And he then proceeds to show  
 the vanity of the argument adduced by J. S., (as by our oppo-  
 nents,) that there were *actions* in the rites and ordinances of  
 the Church, as well as words, to show the true doctrines of  
 Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Our opponents, then, may take back their argument, and  
 answer it as it applies to their own system, and the same  
 answer will do for us. If it follows from our regarding the  
 Bible as the sole infallible Rule of faith, that we thereby make  
 the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible the only funda-  
 mental, and that men are not blameable, whatever doctrine  
 they deduce from the Bible, so our opponents’ hypothesis  
 makes the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible and  
 Patristical Tradition the only fundamental; and men are not  
 blameable, whatever doctrines they may derive from *them*;  
 and so half the heretics, ancient and modern, are at once  
 absolved.

I cannot conclude this chapter, however, without again  
 calling the attention of the reader to the extraordinary fact,  
 that such doctrines as we have been considering, should be  
 represented as the doctrines of the Church of England. Most  
 painful, indeed, is it to observe the way in which the name of  
 the Church of England has been used in this matter, and her  
 authority quoted as supporting doctrines and statements  
 against which, both in her authorized formularies and by her  
 most celebrated divines, she has been for three centuries  
 protesting; and still more painful to see, how readily, nay  
 eagerly, those representations are credited by many, and a few

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET’S Discourse conc. the nature and grounds of the certainty  
 of faith, pp. 42. et seq.

quotations of uncertain meaning received from the Tract writers in proof of their allegations, when other parts of the works of the same individuals show, how completely opposed they were to the doctrines which they are quoted as supporting. But our opponents are wise in supposing, that such names do them far more service than their own arguments on the subject; and they have, indeed, as far as my experience goes, been the chief causes of the impression produced in many quarters in their favour.

I have noticed above only the observations of Mr. Newman on this subject, but I need hardly observe, that his remarks are echoed in substance by the rest; and equally so by that corps of volunteers who, though they disclaim any express and direct union with the writers of the Tracts, are almost always found, on important points, fighting side by side with them. One of these is Dr. Hook, who, in the notes to his Visitation Sermon (p. 100), tells us, that they who hold the notion of the Bible being the sole infallible Rule of faith, have no right to "refuse to regard as a Christian," a Socinian, i. e., in other words, to pronounce him to be involved in fundamental error, nor to blame him for his error. No, doubtless, how can he be to blame when he has only got such an obscure book as the Bible to direct him? With such a guide, how can he be expected to find the way? Nay, more, "*I believe it,*" says Dr. Hook, "*to be only on account of their being bad Logicians, that they are not Socinians:* I believe that they ought to be, if consistent, both Dissenters and Socinians. If they accuse Church principles of tending to Popery, we think that their opinions must lead *logical and unprejudiced minds* to Socinianism." (p. 59.) So that the Bible, when alone, directly leads *logical* minds to Socinianism? There is much comfort, however, in the reflection, that it is *the logic of our opponents* that does so. But the Socinians, I am sure, must feel greatly obliged to Dr. Hook for the remark, for if hundreds and thousands do not after this join them, it will be no fault of Dr. Hook.

But then, "*we of the Church of England*" have got "*an*

*arbiter to decide*" for us what the meaning of Scripture is, in "the Church" and "General Councils," the old high-sounding phrases and big words by which so many have been frightened into errors of all kinds. "But for this," adds Dr. H., "ultra-Protestants denounce us as papistical, and call *our Church the Church of the Traditioners*." (p. 101.) Now, if Dr. Hook would but have given himself time to make himself acquainted with the facts of the case, he would have found, that this name was given for no reason of the kind. When the Puritans called the Church of England the Church of the Traditioners (see Dr. H.'s Sermon, p. 56), they did so, not with reference to her going to *Tradition for doctrine*, but because she considered that in matters of *discipline* the Tradition of the Early Church was a sufficient *justification* for her continuing some usages which had been observed in the Church in the time of Popery, and which the Puritans, who demanded Scriptural authority for every *usage*, wished to abolish; and if Dr. Hook will consult only his Hooker a little more attentively, he will easily find the truth of this. But this is just a specimen of the haste and carelessness of the party, and but one of a thousand. They are in such haste and eagerness to establish their position, that they catch at every straw and broken reed that lies in their way, and when any famous divine of our Church is found to have uttered a few words in commendation of the Fathers and the Primitive Church, immediately they are quoted as evidence for the truth of their positions, and the writer's name figures in their next Catena; utterly unable, or rather unwilling, to draw the distinction between making the testimony of the Fathers an argument in confirmation of orthodoxy, and claiming their testimony in one's favour, which our Reformers most justly did, and putting it forward under big names and high-sounding phrases, as the arbiter of the meaning of Scripture, authoritatively declaring the truth and binding the conscience to belief without any appeal,—a notion against which our Church has for three centuries been all but unanimous.

Dr. Hook's work contains a long extract (pp. 64 et seq.)

from the "Treatise on the Church," by the Rev. W. Palmer, another supporter of the Tractators, who, beginning with the complaint of "systematic misrepresentation," himself misrepresents most grievously. "The various methods which these men employ," he says, "in endeavouring to prevent *ANY* appeal to the Tradition of the Church," &c., as if it was denied, that "any appeal" might be made to it in the way of argument, when Dissenters themselves have often made it. So again, under the head of "statements directly untrue," it is he himself who is guilty. "Under this head," he says, "may be included the palmary argument employed by all sects against *ANY* appeal to the Tradition of the Church Universal, namely, that it was the principle of the Reformation to reject *any* such appeal. . . . Nothing can be more untrue than this assertion: the Reformation, as a whole, acknowledged and appealed to the *authority* of Catholic Tradition, though it denied the *infallibility* of particular Fathers and Councils." Now, in the first place, "nothing can be more untrue" than that this assertion is so made; and on the other hand, nothing more untrue, than that the Reformers appealed to the *authority* of Catholic Tradition in that sense of the word authority in which the last part of the sentence and the general argument show that it is here used, viz., as absolute and binding, and as if such Tradition was infallible. There is a middle path, the true path of our Church, which Mr. Palmer, like the Tract writers, refuses to see,—an appeal to the Tradition of the Fathers as a good argument as far as it goes, but not as one in itself binding upon the conscience. He proceeds to tell us, that, "in asserting this liberty to all men, [i. e., the liberty of judging, after the due use of means, what is the meaning of Scripture, for as to the words 'in opposition to the belief of all Christians from the beginning,' they are mere moonshine, because no one can tell us what that belief has been, nor for one in ten thousand, as Mr. P. very well knows,] *it follows inevitably, that no particular interpretation of Scripture is necessary to salvation; that Scripture has no divine meaning, that it is not a reve-*



"*lation.*" Most logically argued! God has commissioned various persons to write several accounts of the Gospel, and he has given me reason sufficient to understand it. But if I say, that I am at liberty to judge what those accounts mean, "it follows inevitably," that those accounts have "no divine meaning," that they are "not a revelation," and that I may understand them to mean anything that my humour leads me to fancy. Such superficial and illogical views destroy the value of any learning with which they may be connected. For learning is then only valuable when united with correct and impartial reasoning.

The fact is, that this whole argument, with its invidious reference to Socinianism in order to raise a prejudice in the mind, is only another weapon drawn from the Romish armoury. It was long ago urged by the celebrated R. H., (i. e., Abraham Woodhead,) in the 4th Discourse of his "Guide in Controversies," where he represents the Socinian's Plea as being precisely that of the Protestant; and it was fully and ably answered by Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in his "Difference betwixt the Protestant and Socinian methods," a tract which I would strongly recommend to the serious perusal of our opponents, as one which very clearly lays down the principles of the Church of England in this point, and gives to the Fathers as well as to Scripture their proper place and respect. To quote from this work what is relevant to our present subject, would be to give the whole, but I cannot refrain from offering one or two extracts.

"If men," says the Archbishop, "who plead Scripture as their Rule of faith, make apology by so doing for all others who pretend to the same rule, then Catholic Councils themselves plead for Socinians. For, to give an example, the General Council of Chalcedon, and after it Evagrius, testifies, that the intent of the Second Council was, to make it appear, by SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY, that such as Macedonius erred in that opinion which they had advanced against the lordship of the Holy Ghost." (p. 35.) "I conclude, that, notwithstanding the Protestants and Socinians do both of them

“ plead Scripture as the Rule of faith, yet because Protestants  
 “ plead the Rule rightly in the point of the divinity of the Son  
 “ of God, and the Socinians very falsely, even in the opinion  
 “ of the Arians and Romanists themselves, the plea of the  
 “ former does not justify the plea of the latter. . . . *For the*  
 “ *trial of the plea, we must come to dint of argument, and truth*  
 “ *is great and will in time prevail.*” (p. 37.)

He then proceeds to give the main argument of his antagonist in order to its refutation, and he thus states it :—“ Both Pro-  
 “ testants and Socinians plead Scripture as *the sole Rule of*  
 “ *faith.* Both say, the Scripture is *sufficiently clear.* Both  
 “ say, it is *clear in the doctrine of the nature of the Son of God.*  
 “ The Socinian professeth himself to be as industrious in find-  
 “ ing out the sense of the Scripture as the Protestant, and he  
 “ is as well assured in his persuasion ; therefore the Protestant  
 “ in this plea justifies the Socinian, the latter saying the same  
 “ thing for himself that the former does.” (p. 38.) Words  
 could not have been chosen more accurately representing the  
 argument of our opponents. This, be it remembered, is a  
 Romanist’s charge against the Church of England. How does  
 the Archbishop meet it ? Does he tell him, that this is not  
 the ground taken by the Church of England ? Precisely the  
 contrary. He tells him, “ Though they pretend to the same  
 “ rule, they walk not alike by it. One follows it, the other  
 “ wrests it. *And this ought not to be turned to the prejudice of*  
 “ *him who is true to his rule.* LET BOTH OPINIONS BE BROUGHT  
 “ TO IT, AND THEN IT WILL APPEAR, WHICH IS STRAIGHT  
 “ AND WHICH IS CROOKED. . . . Though the Socinians do pre-  
 “ tend, that the writings of St. John are to them as clear as to  
 “ any Protestant, and that they cannot discern in them the  
 “ divinity of Christ, yet confidence in saying a thing is not  
 “ clear, is not an argument that it is not. . . . Men will say,  
 “ doctrines are obscure, even when they are secretly convinced  
 “ of their evidence. . . . My adversary here (says a learned and  
 “ good man) ‘ seems to object as elsewhere, that some who  
 “ seem to follow the letter of the Scriptures deny this [that is,  
 “ the divinity of Jesus Christ], as do the Socinians. What

“ then ? This is not for want of evidence in Scripture, but  
 “ from making or devising ways to avoid this evidence. Will  
 “ this author say, that there was no evidence of there being  
 “ angels and spirits amongst the Jews, because the Sadducees,  
 “ who had opportunity of observing all such evidence, believed  
 “ neither angel nor spirit ? And will he say, that there was  
 “ no clear evidence from the word of Christ and his miracles,  
 “ that they were from God, because the Pharisees and other  
 “ unbelieving Jews who conversed with him, and saw his  
 “ miracles, and heard his word, did not acknowledge him for  
 “ God ? I suppose not.” (pp. 38—40.) “ Let a Romanist  
 “ consider of the qualifications of a Protestant and a Socinian  
 “ by the effect of their labours in matters of Christian faith,  
 “ and, if he be not blinded with very gross partiality, he will  
 “ acknowledge a difference. The Protestant finds in the Scrip-  
 “ ture the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and the  
 “ merit of Christ’s sacrifice ; the Socinian pretends the con-  
 “ trary. If the Protestant and Socinian were equally disposed,  
 “ how comes the one to interpret as a catholic, the other as a  
 “ heretic ? And how can a Romanist believe, that God gives an  
 “ equal blessing to the industry of the Protestants and Socinians,  
 “ whilst the latter do not so much as pray for grace to the Spirit  
 “ of God, nor apply themselves to God the Father through the  
 “ meritorious sacrifice of his blessed Son, nor to Christ himself as  
 “ God, but as to the highest of creatures ?” (p. 43.) “ We  
 “ have no need of confuting Arians and Socinians by Church-  
 “ authority, seeing we can do it MORE EFFECTUALLY OUT OF  
 “ THE SCRIPTURES ; and if they say, that the Scriptures are  
 “ on their side, their saying so does not alter the nature of  
 “ truth. And the Romanists allow, that they say not true,  
 “ and they may be *confuted* when they are not *silenced*. Pro-  
 “ testants decline not a disputation with Socinians by the rule  
 “ of primitive Church-authority. But if they undervalue this  
 “ rule, it is discretion in Protestants to debate the matter with  
 “ them in a way which they themselves best like of, seeing  
 “ that is also A MORE CERTAIN AS WELL AS A MORE SPEEDY  
 “ WAY TO VICTORY.” (p. 47.) “ Though the Church of Eng-

“ land does not make the Councils her rule of faith, or make  
 “ her last appeal to them ; yet she believes, that in times of  
 “ controversy, when the heads of men are apt to be disturbed  
 “ even in matters otherwise plain enough, by the heats and  
 “ distempers of the age they live in, they are of special use.  
 “ The authority of them tends to the quelling of the party,  
 “ and then when the faction cools, it tends to the fixing and  
 “ further strengthening of the weak and interrupted faith of  
 “ many. For, as in a balance, one scale may descend more  
 “ or less below the level, so *there may be faith and assent with-*  
 “ *out adding the weight of Fathers and Councils ;* and yet in  
 “ unquiet times especially, and disputing ages, such testi-  
 “ monies may *give some further strength* to minds made feeble,  
 “ either by public distractions, or the private attacks of crafty  
 “ seducers. Thus, our Church gives to the Scripture the things  
 “ that belong to the Scripture, and to Tradition the dues of  
 “ Tradition. And it gives more even to the former than  
 “ generally Socinians do, and more also to the latter, though  
 “ with just caution and subordination.” (p. 33.)

The same argument was urged by the Romanists against our opponents’ own witness, Bishop Stillingfleet, and is treated by him with ridicule. The Church of England and the Socinians, objected J. S., “ both take the same way of  
 “ Scripture’s letter interpretable by private judgment, and  
 “ yet differ in these fundamental points.” “ And what fol-  
 “ lows ? ” replies the Bishop. “ That the Scripture is no  
 “ certain rule ? By no means. But that the Socinians may  
 “ err, and certainly do, in misinterpreting this rule. ‘ But  
 “ how can it be a certain rule, if men that use it may err in  
 “ using it ? ’ How can reason be certain in anything, if men  
 “ following reason may mistake ? How can arithmetic be a  
 “ certain way of computation, if men following the rules of  
 “ arithmetic may mistake in casting up a sum ? Doth any  
 “ man question the certainty of the rule for men’s blundering  
 “ in their accounts ? Yet this is his way of reasoning. And  
 “ I will put it just with his propositions. i. Arithmetic pre-  
 “ scribes a certain way by addition and subtraction for us to



“ find out any sum. ii. Therefore it must be such, that they  
 “ who take it shall arrive by it at the exact sum. iii. But  
 “ two men who have made use of the same way differ at least  
 “ a hundred in casting up the sum. iv. Therefore, arithmetic  
 “ doth not prescribe a certain way to attain at a certain sum.  
 “ v. Therefore, they who take only that way cannot by it  
 “ arrive at the certain sum. Is not this clear and evident  
 “ demonstration? But those who consider a little better  
 “ than Mr. S. hath done, will distinguish between the rule  
 “ and the application of it. The rule of arithmetic may be  
 “ nevertheless certain, although those who want skill or  
 “ care and diligence may mistake in casting up a particular  
 “ account. The same we say here. Scripture is a *certain*  
 “ *Rule* in all *fundamental points* to such as have capacity and  
 “ use due care and diligence in finding them. But we do not  
 “ deny, but men through prejudice, weakness, want of atten-  
 “ tion, authority of false teachers, impatience of thoroughly  
 “ examining things, and not using proper helps, may run into  
 “ gross errors, such as these about the Trinity and Incarna-  
 “ tion; but still the *RULE* is *certain* to those who use it  
 “ aright, although it be very possible for men through their  
 “ own faults to mistake about it. And this is no way dis-  
 “ agreeing to the infinite wisdom of God, who deals with us as  
 “ with rational creatures, and hath put faculties into us  
 “ that we might use them in order to the certainty of our  
 “ faith. And such *moral qualifications* are required in the  
 “ New Testament in order to the discerning the doctrine of  
 “ it, as humility of mind, purity of heart, prayer to God,  
 “ sincere endeavour to do the will of God, that it would be  
 “ very repugnant to the design of it to suppose, that the  
 “ letter of Scripture alone would give a man immediate and  
 “ certain directions in all matters of doctrine being applied to  
 “ it.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the testimony of one who is continually put forward by our opponents as an advocate of their views.

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Discourse conc. the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith, pp. 39, 40.

And as they are fond of the authority of great names, and of boasting that their system is the true doctrine of the English Church, I shall conclude this chapter with an extract from a work of our learned Henry Wharton, (*one of the divines of the "Anglo-Catholic Library,"*) quoted in a preceding page.

"If in any part of the Christian religion an undoubted certainty and most firm assurance may justly be required; if a scrupulous examination and curious inquiry may ever be allowed in matters of religion; certainly, an exact knowledge of the *Rule of faith* will deserve, as our first, so our chief consideration. For, since the articles of Christianity are not in themselves self-evident, nor can be found out by the sole principles of reason; since all revealed religions are no further credible than as they can demonstrate their revelation to have been true and real, some rule was necessary which might propose to mankind those articles of faith which reason could not suggest, and propose them also with such evidence as that the denial of assent should in all become irrational. What this determinate rule is, hath been the great controversy of this and all preceding ages. However, all parties agree in affixing some certain properties to it, whereby it may be distinguished; and, indeed, without which it can never supply the office or serve the ends of a true rule. These may be reduced to four heads, *that it be able safely and inviolably to convey down all revealed necessary truths; that it be fitted to propose them CLEARLY and invariably to all mankind; that it be independent on all other revealed articles; and lastly, that it be assigned as a rule by God, the author of all revealed religion.* If either of the two first conditions be deficient, the rule will be unuseful; if either of the latter, uncertain and without authority.

"THE SCRIPTURE ENJOYS ALL THESE PROPERTIES IN SO EMINENT A MANNER, THAT NO REASONABLE DOUBT CAN BE MADE OF THE TRUTH OF IT. For, if we consider that whatsoever is revealed may be pronounced; whatsoever is pronounced may be written down; and whatsoever is committed to writing may be preserved safe, while those writings are

“ preserved unaltered ; we must conclude, that any revealed  
 “ religion may be entirely and without danger of mistake *pro-*  
 “ *posed from written books to the universal belief of mankind,*  
 “ since these will afford a standing rule, both to pastors of  
 “ teaching their people, *and to the people of examining the doc-*  
 “ *trine of their pastors in case of dissidence.* The independence  
 “ of Scripture from all other revealed articles, is no less evi-  
 “ dent. For that these books were indeed written by those  
 “ persons whose names they bear, and these persons highly  
 “ credible, is known by *the same evidences whereby the authors*  
 “ *and credibility of any other books are known ;* I mean by the  
 “ concurrent testimony and consent of *all succeeding ages,* con-  
 “ sidered, *not as a collection of men professing the Christian*  
 “ *faith,* but as persons devoid neither of common sense nor  
 “ integrity, as they must have been, if they had mistaken  
 “ themselves, or deluded us, in believing and then testifying  
 “ a matter of fact so easy to be known, and more easy to be  
 “ remembered. Being thus assured of the credibility of Scrip-  
 “ ture, that it was written by such historians, who really  
 “ either performed or saw those miracles which they do attest,  
 “ we cannot but believe these miracles ; and, consequently,  
 “ that the authors and founders of the Christian religion acted  
 “ by a divine commission, and may reasonably command our  
 “ assent to their revelations. Being thus assured of the  
 “ divine authority of the Scriptures, we may *probably conclude*  
 “ *from the nature and end of them,* but MOST CERTAINLY FROM  
 “ THEIR OWN TESTIMONY, that they contain all things neces-  
 “ sary to salvation, and are THE ONLY RULE OF FAITH ; *and all*  
 “ *this, although we did not yet believe any other article of the*  
 “ *Christian religion.*”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WHARTON'S Preface to “A Treatise proving Scripture to be the Rule of faith, &c. Lond. 1688.” 4to.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE FULNESS AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE DIVINE REVELATION  
CONVEYED TO US IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

IN the preceding chapter we have endeavoured to prove, that Holy Scripture is the sole divine Rule of faith and practice to the conscience of every individual.

To this position various objections are offered by our opponents, many of which we have already considered. There remain, however, two others of still greater importance, to the consideration of which this and the following chapter shall be devoted.

The first is, the (alleged) *imperfection* of Scripture; the second, the (alleged) *obscurity* of Scripture.

The first of these I shall consider in this chapter.

Our opponents assert on this head,<sup>1</sup>—

That “Tradition” is a necessary part of the divine Rule of faith and practice, on account of the defectiveness of Scripture; for that—

(1) Though it does not reveal to us any *fundamental* articles of faith or practice not *noticed* in Scripture, Holy Scripture *containing*, that is, *giving hints or notices of*, all the fundamental articles of faith and practice, it is yet a necessary part of the divine Rule of faith and practice as the interpreter of Scripture, and as giving the full development of many articles, some of which are fundamental, which are but imperfectly developed in Scripture; and—

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 36.



(2) That Tradition is an important part of that Rule,<sup>1</sup> as conveying to us various important divinely-revealed doctrines and rules not contained in Scripture.

Now, it is evident, that in these propositions it is assumed, as an undeniable truth, that Patristical Tradition is a divine informant; for otherwise it would be no sufficient foundation for our faith to rest upon, either in articles of faith not contained in Scripture, or in the development of truths "noticed" in Scripture. This, however, we have shown not to be the case.

In reply, therefore, to these propositions, (as far as concerns *doctrines*,) we might at once refer the reader to the corollaries pointed out in the last chapter as flowing from our proof of the untrustworthy character of Patristical Tradition,<sup>2</sup> as affording at once the most brief and satisfactory refutation of them.

Those corollaries were,

(1) That the doctrines contained in Scripture have an authoritative claim upon our faith only *as far as* they are *there* revealed.

Consequently, whereinsoever Patristical Tradition goes beyond the clear declarations of Scripture in any doctrinal point "noticed" in Scripture, so far faith has no divine or certain testimony to rest upon. Whatever explanation or development, not grounded upon the testimony of Scripture, is given of any doctrine by "Tradition," all the authority it can have is that which belongs to "Tradition."

(2) That no doctrine has any authoritative claim upon our faith, that is not revealed in Scripture.

The exclusive claim of Scripture to be the source of all doctrines, is necessarily established, as we have already observed in the last chapter, by a proof of its being our sole

<sup>1</sup> Our opponents would not, perhaps, use the phrase "Rule of faith," with reference to these points; but they must excuse my using that phrase, as well as others, in the full and proper meaning. If "Tradition" is the Word of God, the religious doctrines which it delivers, are articles of faith.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 63.

divine informant. And, in such a case, it is useless to attempt to argue, that Scripture is an *imperfect* informant as to the doctrines of religion, because this or that doctrine is not *fully* set forth in it; and that such and such doctrines are not contained in it at all; for, if this were true, it would only follow, that these additions had no title to be reckoned as any part of the Christian faith or religion. For, as Mr. Newman himself justly remarks,—“There is no abstract measure of what is sufficient. Faith cannot believe more than it is told. It is “saving, if it believes that, be it little or great.”<sup>1</sup>

When, therefore, our opponents say, that certain fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith are not to be found clearly and fully revealed in Scripture, but that we must rely upon Tradition for certain parts, and a full development of them; they are, in fact, sapping the very foundations of the Christian faith, by taking from underneath it the sure support of the Written Word, and making the rotten pillars of Tradition usurp its place. And when we see, how clearly these truths are laid down in Scripture, it is difficult to suppose, that such an assertion can be made, but from the desire of making use of it on other occasions in defence of propositions for which the testimony of Tradition alone, *if even that*, can be pleaded. But our opponents, with the Romanists, know well the influence and convenience of the argument, (when pressed with the objection that the testimonies of certain Fathers can never be taken as sufficient proof of some of the doctrines they have added to the faith,) that we have nothing better to depend upon for the full statement of some of the most *fundamental* points of faith; and they allege the obscurity of Scripture, and the variety of interpretations given to it, and various other arguments, as proofs of the imperfection of its statements on these points.<sup>2</sup> The consequence of which is, that some, alarmed at the idea of such doctrines being questioned, are, as it were, frightened into the admission of their conjoint rule made up of Scripture and Tradition; and thus the truths of divine

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Tract 85.

revelation, and the dreams of the human imagination, are placed side by side as standing upon the same foundation, and entitled to the same respect. While others, who are indisposed to the reception of the truths of revelation, finding that they are made to depend upon the testimony of a few fallible men, instead of the declarations of the inspired Apostles, feel no hesitation in at once rejecting them.

Such are the dangers to which the Christian faith itself is exposed, through the statements of our opponents. To prove the necessity of our receiving, as divine, that Patristical Tradition on which the peculiarities of their system rely for support, they find fault with that which can alone be shown to be a revelation from God, and represent it as imperfect and obscure, and such as cannot teach men the true faith.

But, whatever may be its relative imperfection or obscurity, one thing is clear, and cannot be too frequently impressed upon the mind of the reader, that if it be our sole divine informant, it has the perfection and entireness for which we here contend—namely, that it points out *all we can know to be revealed or are required to believe*; and, moreover, all those rites that we can know to be of divine institution. If it is our sole divine informant, it is the only authoritative source of *all* religious truth, “Tradition” having no authority over the conscience, either as the interpreter or supplement of Scripture; and, moreover, of all those rites that are to be considered as of divine institution. The proof, therefore, already given, that it is our sole divine informant, is a complete proof of what we contend for in this chapter.

But, our opponents endeavour to prove their case *by examples*, and adduce various doctrines and rites, received by us as of divine origin, as proofs, that we must *either* admit that Holy Scripture is inadequate to serve as a complete Rule of faith, and that for some portion of divine revelation we are indebted to Patristical Tradition, *or* that we must give up some of the doctrines we now receive as divinely-revealed, and some of the rites we now hold to be of divine institution.

It is desirable, therefore, for us to proceed to the consideration of *the particular instances* so alleged by them in support of their theory; and I shall do so, *first*, with reference to what we are in the habit of regarding as the fundamental articles of the faith, and, *secondly*, with reference to any other doctrines we receive as divinely revealed, and any rites we hold to be of divine institution. And I shall endeavour to show:—

FIRST,—That there is no such inadequacy in the Holy Scriptures, as it respects what are considered by our Church the fundamental articles of the faith, but that they are fully set forth in those Scriptures.

SECONDLY,—That all the doctrines received by us as revelations from God, and therefore articles of faith, and all the rites held by us to be of divine institution, are delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures; so that there is no article of faith maintained by us, of which, or any part of which, our belief rests upon the testimony of Tradition, our belief in all such points resting wholly upon Scripture; and no rite received by us as of divine institution on any other than Scripture testimony.

We maintain, then:—

FIRST,—That there is no such inadequacy in the Holy Scriptures, as it respects what are considered by our Church the fundamental articles of the faith, but that they are fully set forth in those Scriptures.

To guard against misrepresentation, however, let it be remembered, that when we assert this, we mean, that all those articles are in Scripture *either* in express terms, *or* by necessary consequence. Thus, to recur to the example already given, the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is God, is fully set forth in Scripture; because, though we do not meet with the proposition in terms, the doctrine flows by necessary consequence from what is contained there. It is obvious to the reason of an unprejudiced mind, from what is said in the Scriptures, that the Holy Spirit is God. And this is all that could reasonably be expected from such a revelation. It is not to be supposed, that all the vagaries and distortions of truth that



heretics might invent during the whole period of the Church's course, should be met in direct terms by counter propositions in the Scriptures. In fact, however many points might have been so met, those that were not thus met, would have been precisely the points to which heretics would have had recourse. And if it was not to be expected, that they should be thus met in the Scriptures, is it probable, that they would be more explicitly met in the oral teaching of the Apostles? If not, it follows, that, even if we had the oral teaching of the Apostles, we might probably find in it nothing that would be more definitively and in terms condemnatory of the various heresies that have existed in the Church, than what we meet with in the Scriptures. The revelation made to us in the Scriptures, be it remembered, is not to be confined to the particular words there made use of, but extends to the sense which those words convey to the mind.

That all the fundamental articles of the faith are, in the sense just mentioned, fully set forth in Scripture, may be shown by various arguments. Of these, some of the principal have been already noticed in the preceding chapter, as proofs that Scripture is the Rule of faith; and, therefore, I shall here only briefly recapitulate them, as my object here is, more especially, to meet the *particular instances* pointed out by our opponents as proofs that we *do* receive, as fundamental, certain truths that are not clearly revealed in Scripture.

That the fundamentals of the faith, then, are fully set forth in Scripture, appears—

First, from Scripture itself.

Secondly, from the nature of the Scriptures of the New Testament, as it respects the object for which they were written.

Thirdly, from the committal of the Gospel to writing at all, which is a strong argument in favour of *the whole* revealed faith, that is, in all important points at least, having been committed to writing.

Fourthly, from the admission of our opponents, that in necessary points the title of the Rule of faith cannot be denied to Scripture.

Fifthly, from the admission of our opponents, that in all fundamental points Scripture is the document of proof, and that Scripture-proof of all such doctrines is absolutely necessary.

All these arguments, which we have already entered into at length, necessarily go to prove, that Scripture fully sets forth all the essentials of the faith, all that it is necessary to know in order to obtain salvation.

Nor is it at all requisite, in order to establish this position, that we should be able to give an exact catalogue of the fundamental articles. All the arguments we have yet mentioned are perfectly general, and do not affect the question of the precise nature of the fundamental points, but show, that *whatever* those points may be, they must be set forth in the Scriptures. The favourite objection of many Romanists, therefore, that we must settle precisely which are the fundamentals of the faith, before we can prove that Scripture fully sets them forth, is altogether groundless.

But, as the argument which our opponents seem principally to rely on as a proof of this alleged imperfection of Scripture is, that we do in fact maintain certain points as fundamental articles of the faith which are not fully set forth in Scripture,<sup>1</sup> I shall now proceed to show, by a consideration of the instances they adduce, that we have also the *à posteriori* argument in our favour, and that no article of the faith, received by us as fundamental, can be mentioned, which is not fully set forth, either in express terms, or by necessary consequence, in Scripture.

(1) The doctrine which is most frequently and prominently objected to us here, both by our opponents<sup>1</sup> and the Romanists, is, that of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Not that they *in terms* deny, that this doctrine may be proved by Scripture, nay, on the contrary, they maintain (i. e. *in their own meaning of the words*) that it may be *fully proved by Scripture*; but they affirm, (how consistently the reader will judge,) that it is *not fully delivered in Scripture!* And the reason is

<sup>1</sup> See KEBLE's Sermon. pp. 32, 41, 141—3; NEWMAN's Lect. pp. 134, 269.

<sup>2</sup> See KEBLE's Sermon. pp. 32, 41, 141—3; NEWMAN's Lect. pp. 134, 269.

this, that the passages of Scripture on the subject do not in themselves carry a certain sense to the mind of the reader ; but if the reader will allow "Tradition" to tell him what they mean, then, taking them in that meaning, and no other, they will be *proofs* to him that the doctrine delivered by Tradition is the one maintained in Scripture. I am constrained to say, that it is difficult to conceive how such self-deception can be admitted.

To reply to this example, by pointing out those passages of Scripture by which this doctrine is manifested, would, I fear, be useless ; because it is to be supposed, that our opponents have already considered them, and are prepared to *deny*, that they do fully set forth the doctrine in question. I will, therefore, meet them on their own ground, and show them that they are at issue in this matter with those whom they acknowledge as their great and (*as a body*) *authoritative* teachers, the Fathers.

What account does Athanasius give us of the way in which this doctrine, when called in question, was made out by the Nicene Fathers ? They "collected together out of the Scriptures these words, the brightness, the fountain, and the river, "and the image of the substance, and that expression, 'In thy light shall we see light,' and that, 'I and my Father are one ;' and then at last they wrote more plainly and *compendiously*, that the Son was consubstantial with the Father, "for *all the foregoing expressions have this meaning.*"<sup>1</sup> And again still more clearly ;—"The bishops having observed their hypocrisy in this. . . were compelled again to collect the sense of the matter *from the Scriptures*, and to repeat in plainer words what they had said before, and write that the Son was consubstantial with the Father."<sup>2</sup>

What says Dionysius of Alexandria on this point ? "Although," he says, "I have not found this very word [i. e. consubstantial] in the Scriptures, yet collecting their meaning *from the Scriptures themselves*, I became assured, that he,

<sup>1</sup> ATHANAS. Ad Afr. Episc. Epist. § 6. See the passage below, c. 10, § 3, under "Council of Nice."

<sup>2</sup> See the passage, *ibid.*

“being the Son and the Word, could not be of a different substance from the Father.”<sup>1</sup>

Hear, also, Epiphanius.

“But,” he says, “if the word [i. e. consubstantial] were not in the Divine Scriptures, *though it is, and plainly occurs in the Law and in the Apostles and Prophets*. . . yet nevertheless it would be lawful for us to use, for the interests of true religion, a convenient word,” &c.<sup>2</sup> And again, still more plainly; “The word substance does not occur in the letter in the Old and New Testament, *but the sense is to be found everywhere*.”<sup>3</sup>

So Ambrose refers entirely to the Scriptures for this doctrine, and says,—“I would not, O sacred Emperor, that you should put your faith in my argument and disputation. Let us interrogate the Scriptures, let us interrogate the Apostles, let us interrogate the Prophets, let us interrogate Christ.”<sup>4</sup> And again,—“When I consider, O august Emperor, how it is that the human race has so erred, that the majority, alas, follow different opinions concerning the Son of God, the wonder to me is not by any means that human learning has erred concerning heavenly things, but that it has not been obedient to the Scriptures.”<sup>5</sup>

And Augustine says,—“Against the impiety of the Arian heretics the Fathers made a new word—*consubstantial*; but they did not by this word express a new thing; for the name consubstantial is the same in meaning as, ‘I and my Father are one,’ namely, of one and the same substance.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν λέξιν ταύτην εὕρον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν τὸν νοῦν συναγαγὼν, ξηγῶν ὅτι υἱὸς ὢν καὶ λόγος, οὐ ξένος ἂν εἴη τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς. DIONYS. ALEX. in ATHAN. Epist. De sent. Dionys. § 20. Op. ed. Ben. tom. i. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> See below, c. 10. § 3; under “Epiphanius.”

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> AMBROS. De fid. lib. i. c. 6. See below c. 10. § 3; under “Ambrose.”

<sup>5</sup> De fid. lib. iv. c. 1. See below, c. 10. § 5; under “Ambrose.”

<sup>6</sup> “Adversus impietatem quoque Arianorum hereticorum novum nomen patris [patres] Homoüsion condiderunt; sed non rem novam tali nomine signaverunt; hoc enim vocatur Homoüsion, quod est, Ego et Pater unum sumus, unus videlicet ejusdemque substantiæ.” AUGUST. Comment. in Joh. Ev. c. 16. Tract. 97. § 4. Op. tom. iii. pt. 2. col. 738; and see CONTR. MAXIMIN. lib. ii. c. 14. § 3. tom. viii. col. 704.



It would be easy to add to these passages from other Fathers, but I suppose these will be considered sufficient.<sup>1</sup>

And as it respects the divines of our own Church, the reader will see, in the extracts given hereafter from the works of Jewel, Jeremy Taylor, &c., that the same view is stoutly maintained by them against the opposite doctrine of the Church of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Nay, let us hear Bellarmine himself on this point. When pressed in the controversy on Tradition by that passage of Augustine, in which he tells the Arian Maximinus, that for an authoritative decision of the point in dispute, they must not go either to the Council of Nice or that of Ariminum, but at once to Scripture, he says, that the cause was twofold; first, that he might argue more expeditiously, and, secondly, “because in the questions then at issue, *there were in Scripture the very clearest testimonies*, which beyond doubt are to be preferred to all the testimonies of Councils.”<sup>3</sup>

I hope, then, that I may conclude, not only from the language of Scripture itself, but from the testimony of those to whom our opponents look as their guides in such matters, that we want nothing but Scripture for the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father.

(2) It is still more painful to have to add, that even the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as maintained against the Socinians, has been brought forward in this controversy as one upon which Scripture is not sufficiently explicit, and which therefore must be defended from Tradition. Nay, we are told, that if we were good logicians we should be Socinians.<sup>4</sup>

On this point I shall only refer the reader to the extract already given in a former page from Dr. Hawardine, which will show him, that *even some Romanists* have opposed such a notion, and maintained, that this is a point in which Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> For others, see the extracts from CYRIL. ALEX. &c. below in c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. 11. below.

<sup>3</sup> “Quia in illis questionibus quæ tunc erant, exstabant in Scriptura clarissima testimonia, quæ sine dubio anteposenda sunt omnibus Conciliorum testimoniis.” BELLARM. De Verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 11.

<sup>4</sup> See extracts from Dr. Hook, in p. 167 above.

ture is *clear*, and which “may be *decided* by the Holy Scripture alone,” and have ridiculed the notion upon which Dr. Hook relies, that because men contest the matter, therefore it is not *decided* in Scripture.<sup>1</sup>

To what other points Mr. Keble may allude, when he tells us, that we are indebted to “Tradition” for the full doctrine of the Trinity,<sup>2</sup> I know not, but fear that upon the same grounds on which he has attributed to it our knowledge of the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, he would join with the Romanists in tracing to it our knowledge of various other points, namely, the doctrine that the Father is unbegotten, that of the divinity of the Holy Spirit,<sup>3</sup> and that also of his procession from the Father and the Son, our knowledge of all which is traced by the Romanists to Tradition. Not that they would deny, any more than our opponents, that there are some *notices* of these doctrines in Scripture, and some testimonies which, when explained and developed by Tradition, speak these doctrines. But they assert, that they are not fully delivered in Scripture.

(3) As it respects the first of these, viz., that the Father is unbegotten, they defend themselves by a passage of Augustine, which we need only connect with the context, to show that Augustine was of a completely opposite opinion. He says, in a letter to Pascentius, that when the latter presented to him his Creed with the word “unbegotten” (*ingenitum*) in it applied to the Father, he asked him where this word was to be found in the Scriptures; with the meaning, I fully admit, that though not in the Scriptures, it was to be received. But why did he do this? His own words tell us. “But this,” he says, “I did, because, in the beginning of our discourse, when “Arius and Eunomius were mentioned . . . you anathematized

<sup>1</sup> See p. 142 above.

<sup>2</sup> KEBLE'S Sermon. pp. 32, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Thus speaks the 85th of the Tracts for the Times: “A person who denies the Apostolical succession of the ministry, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture, ought, I conceive, if consistent, to deny the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, which is nowhere literally stated [he means “*if consistent*” “not clearly taught”] in Scripture.” (p. 4.)

“ both Arius and Eunomius, and then immediately demanded,  
 “ that we also should anathematize the Homoïusion . . . . You  
 “ then vehemently demanded, that we should show this word to  
 “ you in the Scriptures, and you would immediately join in  
 “ communion with us. We replied, that, since we spoke in  
 “ Latin, and that was a Greek word, it was first to be inquired  
 “ what Homoïusion was ; and then the demand to be made that  
 “ it should be shown in the Sacred Books. You, on the contrary,  
 “ often repeating the word itself. . . . vehemently urged, that we  
 “ should show the very word which is, [or signifies] Homoïu-  
 “ sion, in the Sacred Books ; we at the same time over and  
 “ over again reminding you, that, inasmuch as our language  
 “ was not Greek, it was first to be interpreted and explained  
 “ what Homoïusion meant, and then it was to be inquired for in  
 “ the Divine Writings ; *because, although, perchance, the word*  
 “ *itself could not be found, yet the thing itself might be found. For,*  
 “ *what is more litigious, than, when the thing itself is clear, to*  
 “ *contend about a name ?*<sup>1</sup> *Inasmuch, therefore, as this conversa-*  
 “ *tion had passed between us,* after the matter proceeded to your  
 “ writing your Creed, as I have mentioned, although I saw  
 “ nothing in the words contrary to my Creed, and therefore said  
 “ that I was ready to subscribe, I inquired, as I said, whether  
 “ the Divine Scripture contained this word, that the Father was  
 “ *unbegotten*. And when you replied that it was written, I  
 “ immediately asked you to show me where. Then one who  
 “ was present, a companion, as far as I understand, of your faith,  
 “ says to me, ‘ What ! then, do you say that the Father is  
 “ begotten ? ’ I replied, ‘ I do not say so. ’ Then he said,  
 “ ‘ If, therefore, he is not begotten, he must be unbegotten. ’  
 “ To whom I said, ‘ You see that it may happen, that, even  
 “ respecting a word which is not in the Divine Scripture, a  
 “ reason may be given, showing that it may be rightly used.  
 “ So, therefore, as to Homoïusion, which we were required to  
 “ show was authorized by the Divine books, *although we may*

<sup>1</sup> “ Quia etsi fortasse nomen ipsum non inveniretur, res tamen ipsa inveni-  
 retur. Quid est enim contentiosius, quam, ubi de re constat, certare de  
 nomine ? ”

“not find there the word itself, it may happen, that we may find  
“that to which this word may be judged to be rightly applied.””<sup>1</sup>

This passage, therefore, taken *with its context*, shows that Augustine was, in fact, *contending*, both that this doctrine and that of the consubstantiality were fully set forth in *Scripture*, although these two particular words, “consubstantial” and “unbegotten,” were not there; and that the *thing* only, and not the *name*, was worth contending about. And, further on, he clearly attributes the errors of men respecting Christ to their not *studying the Scriptures*.<sup>2</sup>

And such passages as this clearly, though indirectly, show, what was Augustine’s *sole* rule of faith in such points; for, had he held the views of our opponents, he would have argued on these points as they do. But this by the way, as we shall advert to this more fully hereafter.

(4) Further, as to the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, what says Augustine, in the very letter to which we have just referred? “Now, for a short space,” he says, “con-  
“template the passages of Scripture which *compel* us to confess  
“one Lord God, whether we are interrogated respecting the  
“Father only, or the Son only, or *the Holy Spirit only*, or of  
“the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit together.””<sup>3</sup>

Still more strongly speaks the great Athanasius, in his Epistle to Serapion, against those who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. “To all created beings,” he says, “and  
“especially to us men, it is impossible to speak worthily of  
“things which are beyond our power of expression; and it is

<sup>1</sup> AUGUST. Epist. 238. Ad Pasc. c. i. Op. tom. ii. col. 854.

<sup>2</sup> “Homines autem minus intelligentes quid propter quid dicatur patentes volunt habere sententias; et, *Scripturis non diligenter scrutatis*, cum arripiunt defensionem cujusque opinionis, et ab ea vel nunquam vel difficile deflectuntur, dum docti atque sapientes magis putari quam esse concupiscunt, ea quæ propter formam servi dicta sunt, volunt transferre ad formam Dei, et rursus quæ dicta sunt, ut ad se invicem personæ referantur, volunt nomina esse naturæ atque substantiæ.” ID. ib. c. 2. col. 857.

<sup>3</sup> “Jam nunc paululum intuere quæ Scripturarum eloquia nos cogant unum Dominum Deum confiteri, sive tantum de Patre, sive tantum de Filio, sive tantum de Spiritu Sancto, sive simul de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto interrogemur.” AUGUST. Ep. 238. Ad Pasc. c. 3. Op. tom. ii. col. 858, 9.



“still more audacious for those who cannot express them, to *“excogitate new words beyond those of the Scriptures.”*<sup>1</sup> And, again, still more clearly;—“Such an attempt, therefore, being full of madness, and worse, let not any one any longer ask such questions, but *learn only what is in the Scriptures; for the illustrations we have of this matter in them, are sufficient of themselves, and need no addition.*”<sup>2</sup>

To which I will only add the words of Bishop Pearson, (one our opponents’ witnesses,)—“The Scriptures do *clearly manifest the same Spirit to be God, and term him plainly and expressly so.*”<sup>3</sup>

(5) And, as it respects the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, as well as from the Father, it is said by Augustine, after he has adduced various passages of Scripture in which it is contained,—“And there are many other passages by which this is clearly shown, that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and the Son.”<sup>4</sup> Nay, we may quote several of the Romanists themselves in behalf of its being fully set forth in Scripture. “Although,” saith Thomas Aquinas, “it may not be found in so many words in Holy Scripture, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, yet it is found, as far as concerns the sense; and particularly where the Son says, John xvi., speaking of the Holy Spirit, ‘He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine.’” And he proceeds to adduce other passages.<sup>5</sup> So also Becanus;—“Although it may not be in express terms in

<sup>1</sup> Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς γενητοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδύνατον, ἐπαξίως εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀποβήτων. Τολμηρότερον δὲ πάλιν μὴ δυναμένοις λέγειν, ἐπινοεῖν ἐπὶ τούτων καινοτέρας λέξεις παρὰ τὰς τῶν γραφῶν. ATHANAS. Ep. 1. ad Serap. § 17. Op. tom. i. pt. 2. p. 666.

<sup>2</sup> Περιττῆς τοιγαροῦν καὶ πλέον μανίας οὐσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιχειρήσεως, μηκέτι τοιαῦτά τις ἐρωτάτω, ἢ μόνον τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μανθανέτω. Αὐτάρκη γὰρ καὶ ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐν ταύταις κείμενα περὶ τούτου παραδείγματα. ATHANAS. Ep. 1. ad Serap. § 19. Op. tom. i. pt. 2. p. 667.

<sup>3</sup> PEARSON, On the Creed, Art. 8.

<sup>4</sup> “Et multa alia sunt testimonia quibus hoc evidenter ostenditur, et Patris et Filii esse Spiritum, qui in Trinitate dicitur Spiritus Sanctus.” AUGUST. Comment. in Joh. Ev. c. 16. Tract. 99. § 6. Op. tom. iii. pt. 2. col. 747.

<sup>5</sup> “Licet per verba non inveniatur in Sacra Scriptura, quod Spiritus Sanctus

“ the Scriptures, yet, nevertheless, it may be *clearly* deduced “ from thence.”<sup>1</sup>

Nor need we be at all surprised at this ; for there is much contradiction among the Romanists themselves on such points. For, though they are agreed, that Tradition is necessary, even for the fundamental points, yet as to the points for which it is necessary, they seem far from agreed. And I believe that for all these points, we could easily prove, upon the testimony of Romanists, both that they *are* fully set forth in Scripture, and also that they *are not*. And the fact is, that, in general, if they are writing expressly upon a particular doctrine, then they can see and admit, that Scripture is full and clear on the point ; but if they are advocating the necessity of Tradition against the Protestants, then there is hardly a doctrine which is fully and clearly set forth in the Scriptures.

Lastly, thus speaks our opponents’ own witness, Bishop Pearson. “ As, therefore, the Scriptures declare expressly, “ that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, so do they also “ virtually teach, that he proceedeth from the Son. From “ whence it came to pass, in the primitive times, that the “ Latin Fathers taught expressly the procession of the Spirit “ from the Father and the Son ; *because, by good consequence,* “ *they did collect so much from those passages of the Scripture* “ *which we have used to prove that truth.*”<sup>2</sup>

Further, if it be not fully and clearly set forth in the Scriptures, how can we be certain of it at all, even if we were to admit our opponents’ system ? For, neither they nor the Romanists can, *upon their own principles*, say, that this doctrine is clearly delivered by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, when the whole Greek Church have for centuries of

procedit a Filio, invenitur tamen quantum ad sensum, et præcipue ubi dicit Filius, Joh. 16., De Spiritu S. loquens, Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet.” THOM. AQUIN. Summ. Theol. 1. q. 36. Art. 2. ed. Paris. 1631. p. 83.

<sup>1</sup> “ Licet expresse non habeatur in Scripturis, potest tamen evidenter inde deduci, Spiritum Sanctum procedere, non tantum a Patre, sed etiam a Filio.” MARTIN. BECAN. Summ. Theolog. Scholast. P. 1. Tract. 2. c. 6. q. 2.—Ed. Paris. 1630. fol. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> PEARSON, On the Creed. Art. 8.

denied, that the primitive Fathers of their Church maintained it. Nor could this doctrine, as it appears to me, be *clearly* proved to have had the witness of the early Greek Fathers in its favour.

(6) Mr. Keble adds, that we are indebted to Tradition for the full doctrine of the Incarnation ;<sup>1</sup> which means, I suppose, that, like the Romanists, he maintains, that, because the Nestorians, Eutychians, and others, attempted to defend an unorthodox doctrine on this point from the Scriptures, therefore the Scriptures cannot be supposed to set forth fully the orthodox doctrine respecting it.

On this point, I shall merely refer the reader to the admirable Encyclical Letter of Leo I., in which he thus speaks :—

“ But what,” he says, “ can be worse, than to hold impious notions, and not to believe the wise and learned ? But into this folly do those fall, who, when they are hindered in arriving at a knowledge of the truth by some obscurity, do not go to *the words of the Prophets, nor to the Epistles of the Apostles, nor to the testimonies of the Evangelists*, but to themselves. And on that account are teachers of error, because they have not become disciples of the truth. For what learning has he acquired from the sacred pages of the New Testament, who does not even know the elementary points of the Creed itself ? And that which is uttered by the voice of all the regenerate throughout the world, is not yet received in the heart of that old man [viz. Eutyches]. When ignorant, therefore, what he ought to think concerning the incarnation of the Word of God, *and not willing to labour in the wide field of the Holy Scriptures to gain the light of understanding*, he should at least have attended with an earnestly-attentive ear to that common and universally-received confession, by which the whole body of the faithful professes its belief in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born of the Virgin Mary, by the Holy Spirit, by which three sentences the devices of almost all heretics are destroyed. . . . But if

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE'S Sermon. p. 41.

“ he could not draw a correct knowledge of the truth from  
 “ this most pure fountain of the Christian faith, because, by  
 “ his own blindness, he had obscured the splendour of the  
 “ truth, when shining clearly before him, he should have sub-  
 “ mitted himself to *the teaching of the Gospel, Matthew saying,*  
 “ ‘ The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of  
 “ David, the Son of Abraham ;’ and should have sought the  
 “ instruction of *the Apostolical preaching, and, reading in the*  
 “ *Epistle to the Romans,*<sup>1</sup> ‘ Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ,  
 “ called to be an Apostle, separated unto the gospel of God,  
 “ which he had promised before by his Prophets in the Holy  
 “ Scriptures, concerning his Son, who was made to him of  
 “ the seed of David, according to the flesh, [Rom. i. 1—3]  
 “ should have betaken himself with pious solicitude to *the*  
 “ *pages of the Prophets,* and would have found the promise of  
 “ God to Abraham, saying, ‘ In thy seed shall all nations be  
 “ blessed.’ [Gen. xxii. 18.] And that he might have no doubt  
 “ respecting the reality of this seed, he should have followed  
 “ the Apostle, saying, ‘ To Abraham were the promises made.’  
 “ [Gal. 3.]” And so he proceeds to show how clearly and  
 fully the doctrine is set forth in Scripture.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reader will observe here the phrases “ *doctrina Evangelica* ” and “ *Apostolica prædicatio* ” used for *the Scriptures*, the former for the Gospels, the latter for the Epistles, as is common with the Fathers, and most important to note in this controversy, especially from the mistake made by Mr. Newman as to the meaning of such phrases.

<sup>2</sup> “ Quid autem iniquius quam impia sapere, et sapientioribus doctioribusque non credere ? Sed in hanc insipientiam cadunt, qui, cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro, non ad Propheticas voces, non ad Apostolicas literas, nec ad Evangelicas Autoritates, sed ad semetipsos recurrunt. Et ideo magistri erroris existunt, quia veritatis discipuli non fuere. Quam enim eruditionem de sacris Novi et Veteris Testamenti paginis acquisivit, qui nec ipsius quidem Symboli initia comprehendit ? Et quod per totum mundum omnium regeneratorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur. Nesciens igitur, quid deberet de Verbi Dei incarnatione sentire, nec volens ad promerendum intelligentiæ lumen in Sanctarum Scripturarum latitudine laborare, illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem sollicito apprehendisset auditu, qua fidelium universitas profitetur credere se in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Quibus tribus sententiis omnium fere hæreticorum machinæ destruuntur . . . . . Sed si de hoc



Here, then, I suppose it is undeniable, that, for a knowledge of the truth, men are sent to the Holy Scriptures; and that Leo supposed, that it was impossible for a man to have made himself at all acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and not receive the "*initia*" of the Creed, including the true doctrine of the Incarnation. And he directs attention to the Creed for learning the doctrine of the Incarnation, *only on the supposition* that a man is "*not willing to labour in the wide field of the Holy Scriptures to gain the light of understanding;*" and still further, so far from supposing, that the Creed was clearer or fuller than the Scriptures on the point, he urges, that if a man should not be able to obtain a correct knowledge of the faith from the Creed, he is bound to search the Scriptures with pious solicitude, and submit to the declarations which he finds there; which Leo evidently considers to convey a clear and full declaration of the orthodox doctrine. Can there, then, be a more direct contradiction given to the notion that the full doctrine of the Incarnation is not in Scripture, than is contained in this celebrated letter of Leo, which was publicly read and approved in the Council of Chalcedon, and is inserted in its Acts?

Our opponents, indeed, will find, that the early Fathers, far from taking the Tradition of earlier Fathers as part of their Rule of faith, or supposing that the full doctrine was only to be found there, in this as in other points made the Scriptures their *Rule*. "We," says Theophilus of Alexandria, when opposing the notion of the Origenists as to the pre-existence

fidei Christianæ fonte purissimo sincerum intellectum haurire non poterat, quia splendorem perspicuæ veritatis obscuratione sibi propria tenebrarat, doctrinæ se Evangelicæ subdidisset, dicente Matthæo: *Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David filii Abraham*: Apostolicæ quoque prædicationis expetisset instructum, et legens in Epistola ad Romanos; *Paulus servus Jesu Christi*, &c. . . . . ad propheticas paginas piam sollicitudinem contulisset, et invenisset promissionem Dei ad Abraham dicentis, *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes*. Et ne de hujus seminis proprietate dubitaret, secutus fuisset apostolum dicentem, *Abrahæ dictæ sunt promissiones*, &c. [Gal. 3.]" LEONIS I. Epist. ad Flavianum Ep. Constantinop.; lecta et approb. in Concil. Chalced. Vid. Acta Concil. Chalced. Act. 2.—Concil. ed. Labb. et Coss. 1671. tom. iv. col. 345. (ed. Hardouin 1714. tom. ii. col. 290, 291.)

of the human soul of Christ,—“We, *following the Rule of the Scriptures*, will preach with our whole heart and soul, that “neither his flesh nor soul existed before he was born of “Mary.”<sup>1</sup>

But further, our opponents, with the Romanists, attempt to show, that, however it may be with the *fundamental* articles of the faith, we receive at least various doctrines and practices as divinely revealed, some of which are not contained at all, and others but imperfectly noticed, in Scripture; and they take advantage of the appeals sometimes made by us to the practice of the Primitive Church on some points, as if they proved, that we were compelled sometimes to go to Tradition for the proof of doctrines and rites which we receive as divine, though we refuse to abide by it in other points. We shall therefore now proceed to consider the examples they bring upon this head, and show,

SECONDLY, that *all* the doctrines received by us as revelations from God, and therefore articles of faith, and *all* the rites held by us to be of divine institution, are delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures; so that there is no article of faith maintained by us, of which, or any part of which, our belief rests upon the testimony of Tradition, our belief in all such points resting wholly upon Scripture; and no rite received by us as of divine institution on any other than Scripture testimony.

The principal passages in which our opponents have spoken of these points, are the following; in some of which the points of which we are now speaking are mixed up with those which we have already considered under the former head, but we quote the passages as they stand. “The matter of fact,” says Mr. Newman, “is not at all made out, that there are no “traditions of a trustworthy nature. For instance, it is “proved by traditionary information only (for there is no

<sup>1</sup> “Nos, Scripturarum normam sequentes, tota cordis audacia prædicemus, quod nec caro illius nec anima fuerint, priusquam de Maria nasceretur.” THEOPH. ALEX. Ep. Pasch. II. § 8. See the whole passage below in c. 10, § 3; under “Theophilus of Alexandria.”

“other way), that the text of Scripture is not to be taken  
 “literally concerning our washing one another’s feet, while  
 “the command to celebrate the Lord’s Supper is to be obeyed  
 “in the letter. Again, it is only by tradition that we have  
 “any safe and clear rule for changing the weekly feast from  
 “the seventh to the first day. Again, our divines, such as  
 “Bramhall, Bull, Pearson, and Patrick, believe that the Blessed  
 “Mary was ‘Ever Virgin,’ as the Church has called her, but  
 “Tradition was their only informant on the subject. Thus  
 “there are true Traditions still remaining to us.” (Lect.  
 pp. 334, 5.) “We consider the eucharist is of perpetual obli-  
 “gation, because the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles  
 “thought so; we consider the inspired Canon was cut short  
 “in the Apostles, whose works are contained in the New Testa-  
 “ment, and that their successors had no gift of expounding  
 “the Law of Christ, such as they had, because the same ages  
 “so accounted it.” (Ib. p. 371.)

“It may be proved,” says Mr. Keble, “to the satisfaction  
 “of any reasonable mind, that not a few fragments yet remain  
 “—very precious and sacred fragments of the unwritten  
 “teaching of the first age of the Church. The paramount  
 “authority, for example, of the successors of the Apostles in  
 “Church Government; the threefold order established from the  
 “beginning; the virtue of the blessed eucharist as a commemo-  
 “rative sacrifice; infant baptism; and above all, the  
 “catholic doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity, as contained  
 “in the Nicene creed. All these, however surely *confirmed*  
 “from Scripture, are yet ascertainable parts of the primitive  
 “unwritten system of which we yet enjoy the benefit. If any  
 “one ask, how we ascertain them, we answer, by the appli-  
 “cation of the well-known rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique,*  
 “*quod ab omnibus.*” (Keble’s Serm. p. 32.) “Without its  
 “aid [i. e. ‘Primitive Tradition’], humanly speaking, I do not  
 “see how we could now retain either real inward communion  
 “with our Lord through his Apostles, or the very outward  
 “face of God’s Church and kingdom among us. Not to dwell  
 “on disputable cases, how but by the tradition and practice of

“the early Church can we demonstrate the observance of Sunday as the holiest day, or the permanent separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order? Or where, except in the primitive liturgies, a main branch of that tradition, can we find assurance, that in the Holy Eucharist, we consecrate as the Apostles did, and consequently, that the cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ, and the bread which we break the communion of the body of Christ.” (Ib. p. 38.) “The points of Catholic consent, known by Tradition, constitute the knots and ties of the whole system; being such as these: the canon of Scripture, the full doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, the oblation and consecration of the Eucharist, the Apostolical Succession.” (Ib. pp. 41, 2.) “To which, perhaps, it might have been well to add the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.” (Ib. p. 75.) “How else could we know, with tolerable certainty, that Melchizedek’s feast is a type of the blessed eucharist? or that the book of Canticles is an allegory, representing the mystical union betwixt Christ and his Church? or that Wisdom, in the Book of Proverbs, is a name of the Second Person in the Most Holy Trinity? All which interpretations, the moment they are heard, approve themselves to an unprejudiced mind.” (Ib. p. 36.) To which he adds (p. 78) the doctrine “that consecration by Apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the Eucharist,” which he thinks was “universally received in the Primitive Church,” and may be accepted by us on the evidence of a passage in Ignatius, even if it could not be “at all proved from Scripture,” which, however, he thinks it may, “in a great measure, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds.”

To these may be added the following, from the 85th of the “Tracts for the Times.” “Even though Scripture be considered to be altogether *silent* as to the intermediate state, and to pass from the mention of death to that of the Judgment, there is nothing in this circumstance to disprove *the Church’s doctrine*, (if there be *other* grounds for it,) that there is an intermediate state, and that it is important, that in it



"the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace, that they pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them." (p. 48.) This doctrine, therefore, the author of the tract would evidently class among those which we are now considering, either as one about which Scripture spoke indistinctly and obscurely, or might be considered by some as altogether *silent*. And we may observe from this passage, that there are, in the view of our opponents, important *Church doctrines*, about which, if Scripture "be considered to be altogether *silent*," it matters not. There are "other grounds" of proof in Patristical Tradition. And if Patristical Tradition be what our opponents represent it to be, it is sufficient for the proof of such doctrines. And so speaks the author of Tract 79, entitled, "On Purgatory." "It can only," he says, "be *an article of faith*, supposing it is held by Antiquity, and that unanimously. For such things only are we allowed to maintain as come to us from the Apostles; and that only, *ordinarily speaking*, has evidence of so originating, which is witnessed by a number of independent witnesses in the early Church. We must have the unanimous consent of Doctors as *an assurance that the Apostles have spoken*." (p. 25.) And they are only consistent in making these statements, that is, consistent as far as *their system* is concerned, not with themselves, because, out of regard, I suppose, to the *prejudices* of Protestants, they every now and then introduce statements of a very different complexion. I do not, of course, mean with any intention to mislead, but their position involuntarily leads them to do so.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the same tract (i.e. Tract 85) pp. 9 et seq., the author enumerates various ordinances and doctrines about which "*little is said in Scripture*," in order to meet a supposed argument that little is said there as to some of their favourite notions, and he accordingly mentions various points as either not taught in so many words in Scripture, or having only so many texts relating to them. This list I do not notice here, because it is beside the question as far as our arguments are concerned. We do not ask, whether every doctrine is taught in so many words in Scripture, but whether, virtually, it is clearly there; nor how many texts support a doctrine, but whether the doctrine is clearly in those texts. And when he asks us, "what doctrines would be left to us, if we demanded the clearest and fullest evidence," (p. 12.), we reply, all those which either follow immediately by just and necessary inference from Scripture, or are supported by even *one* clear passage of Scripture.

*They are committed to two opposite systems.* Having embraced the great principles upon which Popery is founded, though perhaps not quite satisfied with the whole superstructure which Rome has built upon them, while, partly from personal attachment, and partly from dislike of some parts of Romanism, they remain members of the Church of England, and are consequently obliged to explain their tenets so as to make them appear consistent with the authorized documents of our Church, they are continually uttering contradictory statements.

The cases here enumerated (which, I need hardly say, are precisely the examples adduced by the Romanists) are of various kinds, and not all to be met in the same way. Some of them rest, or are supposed to rest, on Scripture and Tradition together, others on Tradition alone; though there is by no means a universal agreement in the classification of them in this respect, some writers referring to Scripture and Tradition together what others make to rest on Tradition alone. Moreover, some of these doctrines we reject; others, as dependent on Tradition only, we look upon as uncertain, and not to be authoritatively propounded as of divine revelation or obligation. For others we find plain evidence in Scripture, though we may appeal to the writings of the Fathers in *confirmation* of the correctness of our deductions. And in matters relating to the *practice* of the Church, with respect to *facts and usages of which the senses of the writers were cognizant*, we may use those writings as conclusive evidence that such facts occurred and such usages were more or less adopted in the Church in their times. And further, as to the subject matter of these examples, it is of several different kinds, most of them being points relating to the *practice* of the Church, that is, ecclesiastical ordinances, rites, and usages, some of them being points purely doctrinal, and some being points which concern matters of fact and things somewhat different from both the former. In our consideration of them we shall classify them according to this last arrangement.

Of points relating to the *practice* of the Church, then, we find the following:—

Relating to rites now disused,—

(1) The non-literal acceptance of our Lord's words respecting washing one another's feet.

(2) The non-observance of the seventh day as a day of religious rest.

Relating to ordinances and observances in use among us,—

(1) Infant baptism.

(2) The sanctification of the first day of the week.

(3) The perpetual obligation of the Eucharist.

(4) The identity of our mode of consecration in the Eucharist with the Apostolical.

(5) That consecration by Apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the Eucharist.

(6) The separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order.

(7) The threefold order of the priesthood.

(8) The government of the Church by Bishops.

(9) The Apostolical Succession.

Of points purely doctrinal,—

(1) Baptismal Regeneration.

(2) The virtue of the Eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice.

(3) That there is an intermediate state, in which the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace; that they pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them.

Of points concerning matters of fact, and things that do not immediately belong either to the doctrines or rites of Christianity,—

(1) The Canon of Scripture.

(2) That Melchizedek's feast is a type of the Eucharist.

(3) That the Book of Canticles represents the union between Christ and his Church.

(4) That Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs refers to the Second Person of the Trinity.

(5) The alleged *perpetual* virginity of the Mother of our Lord.

To the doctrines above mentioned Romanists add, among

others, the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell, and that of the validity of baptism administered by heretics.

It is impossible not to see, that, among all these points, the *stress* is laid upon those that concern the *Government* and the *Sacraments* of the Church; and our opponents, being persuaded that Patristical Tradition delivers their system on these points, (and it would be wonderful, if, in all the volumes of the Fathers, they could not find some passages in favour of a system so zealously patronized by those in whose hands these works were for centuries deposited, and through whom they have come down to us, though we deny that it is to be found there upon any full and consentient testimony,) are very anxious, that this Tradition should be recognised as a divine informant; and in the zealous prosecution of this enterprise, are desirous further of impressing it upon our minds, that almost all the other points relating either to doctrine or practice, yea even the fundamentals of the faith, must stand or fall according as this recognition takes place or not.

Let us first consider the points relating to the *practice* of the Church; and before we proceed to consider them individually, we would premise a few general remarks as to the principles which guide us in the consideration of such cases.

In the first place it must be remembered, that we are far from maintaining here, with the early Puritans, that all the rites and usages of the Church must have Scripture authority, so that no Church can appoint and require from her members an observance of any rites or ceremonies, but what are ordained in Scripture, but we assert this only of points for which is claimed the authority of divine revelation, or the obligation of a divine or apostolical precept, binding *Churches* as well as individuals.

In the second place, though we deny that the testimony of a few Fathers can be taken as such sufficient evidence of the teaching of the Apostles, or the Universal Church, in matters of faith or practice, as to be considered a divine informant supplementary to Scripture, we do not deny, but on the con-



trary maintain, that the testimony of the early Fathers respecting facts and practices *of which their senses were cognizant*, is sufficient to assure us, that such facts and practices took place in their time in the Primitive Church, just as we might receive the testimony of our opponents as quite sufficient respecting facts and practices of our Church, *of which their senses had been cognizant*, while we took leave altogether to deny its sufficiency as a witness of the *doctrines* of our Church.

And, thirdly, we maintain, that the usage of the Primitive Orthodox Church from Apostolical times (as far as it can be ascertained) may justly be taken as a guide to show us, how rites and practices enjoined in Scripture are to be carried into effect; and also as a guide, to a certain extent, in its general rites and practices, that is, so far as to recommend them to our attention, and perhaps to justify modern Churches in following them, inasmuch as it is not probable, that, *from the very first*, the Orthodox Church should have adopted a superstitious or improper usage. It is on this ground that our Church defends her use of the sign of the cross, as—not necessary, but—justifiable.<sup>1</sup> And, consequently, we receive with respect the traditions of the Primitive Church on such points, “*meaning by traditions*,” as Hooker says, “*ordinances made in the prime of Christian religion*, established with that authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because *the inventors of them were men*.”<sup>2</sup>

And thus, as it respects rites and usages, the practice of the Primitive Church, ascertained to us by the testimony of its writings, may be a useful guide to us, both where Scripture is silent, and where it does not enter so fully into particulars as to show, how the rites and ceremonies mentioned in it are to be carried out in all cases.

But we maintain, with our Church, that those rites and ordinances only are *essentially* binding upon all churches and

<sup>1</sup> See Canon 30.

<sup>2</sup> HOOKER'S Eccles. Pol. book v. c. 65.

individuals that are required by Scripture authority ; because no others can be proved to have been required by the Apostles ; and we shall show hereafter, that all the moderns who profess to hold a contrary opinion are convicted by their own conduct of inconsistency ; for they who maintain, that a few Patristical assertions, that this or that rite was established by the Apostles, or observed by the Primitive Church, are to be taken as sufficient evidence of its Apostolical origin and binding nature, ought to contend for *all* those that are so supported.

And even if the testimony of Antiquity on one or two points *enjoined in Scripture* should be considered sufficient to have proved their Apostolicity in the absence of Scripture testimony for them, this would make no practical difference in our argument. For, what we maintain is, that Scripture fully and clearly reveals all the fundamental points of faith and practice, and that there is no point of faith or practice, *not enjoined in Scripture*, for which a traditional testimony can be adduced sufficient to show its Apostolical enforcement.

Our Church has wisely taken in this matter the middle course between that of the Romanists and that of our early Nonconformists, the former professing to take the statements of the remaining Fathers as an unerring guide, and the latter holding "that Scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by men,"<sup>1</sup> and both of them in their practice acting very inconsistently with their professed principles. When, therefore, the latter demanded, that nothing should be required by the Church but what was laid down in Scripture, because those precepts only can be proved to be Apostolical that are found in Scripture, our Church, while fully admitting the truth of the latter proposition, denied the justice of the demand, claiming a power to ordain rites and ceremonies such as might be necessary for the preservation of order and decency, and require their observance of her members ; and to cut off as much as possible all occasion for cavilling, as well as from the inherent pro-

<sup>1</sup> See HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. bk. ii.

priety of such a course, adhered as closely as possible to the primitive model.

The reader will observe, then, that when admitting the non-necessity of any ecclesiastical ordinances, rites, or observances, I am speaking with reference either to the Church at large, or some distinct and independent portion of it; and, with respect to such bodies, certainly maintain, that they are not bound by any injunctions but those of Scripture. With individuals, however, the case is different.<sup>1</sup> We hold, with our Articles, that every Church has power to appoint its rites and ceremonies, and that its members are bound (within reasonable limits) to submit to such appointment. And further we maintain, that every such body has authority in controversies of faith, *so far as concerns its own communion*, and may justly make a reception of what it considers the fundamentals of the faith essential to communion, nay, rather, is bound to do so; and while it allows a latitude of opinion on all other points, may, if it seem necessary for the good of the body at large, silence public disputations even on non-essential points. But this power should not only be cautiously exercised, but by the clear and well-ascertained voice of the whole body, for the obtaining of which (I feel constrained to add) due care has seldom been taken.

We allow, then, that the Church has power to enjoin upon her members the observance of certain decent rites and ceremonies, and that such a power has been given her by God; but we draw a distinction between that which God has enjoined on this head, and that which the Church has enjoined. The latter is not to be put forward as necessary to salvation,

<sup>1</sup> It might also probably be fairly maintained, that when such a Council as that which met at Nice (the only one by the way having any pretensions to be called General) gave directions, such as were there given, respecting the day on which Easter was to be observed, it was expedient, and befitting the Christian character, that all the different churches should acquiesce in such an appointment until a similar authority had authorized an alteration; though nevertheless optional, because different churches might have different customs in such matters, without any detriment to the peace of the Church, if there had been no ecclesiastical tyrants to make it a cause of dissension. See SOCRAT. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 22. SOZOM. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19.

nor therefore to membership in the Church Catholic, though he who breaks the unity of the Church on account of such things only, is certainly guilty of the sin of making a needless schism in the body.

With respect, therefore, to the examples here adduced by our opponents, in which the *practice* of the Church is concerned, we may say generally, that our appeal to the records of the Primitive Church respecting them, (where we do so appeal,) is not an appeal to *the doctrine there delivered*, as if the few testimonies we can bring from the antient Fathers were sufficient evidence of the oral teaching of the Apostles, or of the doctrinal teaching of the Universal Church; but an appeal to them, as showing what was *the practice* of the Church in those times. And this precisely agrees with what Mr. Keble himself has admitted to be Bishop Taylor's view, viz. that, "in practical matters, it [*i. e.* Tradition] may be verified, but in doctrinal, with the exception of the Creed, it cannot,"<sup>1</sup> which entirely overthrows Mr. Keble's system.

We refer to those records, as showing what was the *practice* of the Primitive Church; which, on the one hand, may show us, what rites or usages mentioned in the Scriptures were not then considered to be of general obligation, and, on the other, what were, under ordinary circumstances, considered to be so, and how these latter were carried out; and further, what rites and usages appeared to the Church, at that early period, to be decent and useful; from which last we may at least infer, that such rites and usages are at any rate allowable at all times, and useful where our circumstances appear to be the same with those of the Apostolical Church, and thus obtain, from those records, information which, when used with discretion, may be of much service to the Church, and to the various independent local communities of which it is composed, in guiding them in decreeing the rites and ceremonies to be observed by their members.

To proceed to the examples adduced, let us take first the

<sup>2</sup> KEBLE's Serm. App. p. 71.



case of *rites abrogated*, or usages mentioned in Scripture not observed by us.

(1) We are required to show, why we do not wash one another's feet in obedience to what our Lord says, John xiii. 12—15; a favourite example with the Romanists, as may be seen in Dr. Milner's "*End of religious controversy*;" but our opponents should have been a little more careful than to borrow it, for, little as it avails the former, the latter have clearly made a mistake in adducing it, for their doctrine is, that such matters must be grounded upon the *consent* of the Primitive Church, and it is notorious, that the Primitive Churches differed in this matter.

Let us suppose, then, (what we do not admit) that the language of Scripture is doubtful as to the nature of this command, that is, doubtful whether, instead of being an exhortation to acts of condescension and kindness towards our Christian brethren, to be fulfilled to the letter where the circumstances are the same, (as in the case spoken of by the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 10.), and in the spirit under ALL circumstances, it is to be taken as a command to be fulfilled in the letter as a religious rite, in all times and places, however unsuitable to the customs and habits of the country. Our inquiries, then, are to be directed to the records of the Primitive Church. But, first, of what nature is our inquiry? Not, what *doctrine* the Primitive Church delivered on the subject, but, what was its *practice*; and if we had found the practice generally established as a religious rite in the Primitive Church, or, on the contrary, generally neglected, this testimony of ecclesiastical *practice* might, in perfect accordance with our views, fairly have determined the matter either way, so that even thus the instance is of no force in the present controversy. But the fact is, that the reference is altogether a mistake, for the practice of the Primitive Churches differed in this respect, and, consequently, we are compelled to exercise our own discretion in the matter. Thus, in the Church of Milan, the bishop washed the feet of the baptized, *in supposed*

*obedience to this text*, which the Roman Church did not do, on the ground that it was merely an example of humility, and not a religious rite, that was here commended.<sup>1</sup> And Augustine tells us, that many followed the latter course, and that some abrogated the custom altogether where it had been observed; but that others, in order to show that they did not connect it at all with baptism, [and so make it a religious rite, having some mystical signification,] and yet not altogether give it up, observed it a few days after baptism; and he adds, in the context, some remarks which show how little importance he attached to such matters, and how completely he considered them to be left to the discretion of each Church.<sup>2</sup> It appears, then, that there was much difference of opinion on this subject in the Early Church, which, therefore, can be no sure guide to us in the matter. •And Augustine, be it observed, evidently

<sup>1</sup> “Adscendisti de fonte; quid secutum est? . . . summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit. Quid est istud mysterium? Audisti utique quia Dominus, cum lavisset discipulis alios pedes, venit ad Petrum. . . Nisi laverò, inquit, tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem. Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam; hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, forte propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non in baptismo, non in regeneratione; sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sint. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi quia mysterium est et sanctificatio; nisi laverò tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem. Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam, sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur et nos rectius custodimus. Ipsum sequimur Apostolum Petrum, ipsius inhaeremus devotioni. Ad hoc Ecclesia Romana quid respondet?” AMBROS. De Sacram. lib. 3. c. 1. Op. ed. Ben. vol. ii. col. 362, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “De lavandis vero pedibus, cum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaverit, sicut ipse consequenter exposuit, quaesitum est quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et illud tempus occurrit quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhaereret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia et ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum ut hoc facerent elegerunt.” AUGUST. Ep. 55. c. 18. Ad Januarium. Op. tom. ii. col. 141. On such points see HOOKER, Eccles. Pol. iii. 10.

thinks, that our Lord's own words show, that he merely meant to recommend mutual condescension to his followers. So that, I think, our Church may fairly say, with Ambrose, to her Romish or any other adversaries, "*nos homines sensum habemus,*" we have got our wits about us, and may surely be allowed to judge for ourselves in such a matter.

(2) The next case is that of the abrogation of the seventh day Sabbath.

We should feel no difficulty in this case, even if we were left to determine it by the records of the Primitive Church, because this also is a point of external observance, respecting which we have only to inquire as to the *practice* of the Church. But it is not a little strange that we should be told, that Tradition is necessary to certify us of this, when the Apostle says to the Colossians, "Let ~~no~~ man judge you in "meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the "new moon, or of *the sabbath days.*" (σαββάτων) (Col. ii. 16.)

And the *practice* of the Church, in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, confirms what this and other passages of Scripture clearly intimate to us, viz., that the Jewish Sabbath was not to be observed by Christians. Thus, Ignatius tells us, that even the converted Jews "no longer observed sabbaths;"<sup>1</sup> and Tertullian, that the Jewish Sabbath was abrogated by the Christian dispensation.<sup>2</sup> The same thing is intimated to us by Justin Martyr,<sup>3</sup> whose words seem clearly to show, that the day was not at all observed in his time; and although in the third and fourth centuries, the day appears to have been celebrated by the performance of public worship, which was

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες, εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κ. τ. λ. IGNAΤ. Ep. ad Magnes. § 9.—AP. PATR. APOSTOL. ed. Jacobson. tom. ii. p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> TERTULL. Adv. Jud. cc. 2, 3, et 4.

<sup>3</sup> JUST. MART. Dial. cum Tryph. § 18. p. 118. ed. Ben. The same conclusion appears to flow from what Pliny says of the Christians of his time, that they were accustomed to meet "*stato die,*" on a set day (Ep. ad Traj.), which seems hardly reconcilable with the idea that both the seventh and first days of the week were so applied. And so when Paul stayed at Troas seven days, there appears to have been a public assembly for Christian worship on one day only, and that "the first day of the week." (Acts xi. 7.)



probably an innovation, and the prelude to that Judaical observance of the day against which the Church found it necessary to protest,<sup>1</sup> still the practice of the Church was, not to abstain from labour on that day, or regard it as in itself a holy day, as we learn, among other testimonies, from one of the Laodicean canons, in the code of the Primitive Church, which directs, "that Christians must not Judaize and rest on the sabbath, but work on that day."<sup>2</sup>

If, then, we were destitute of the testimony we have quoted from Scripture on the subject, the clear evidence we have of the *practice* of the Apostolical Church might suffice; and our argument would in no respect suffer from the admission of that evidence as conclusive. For, though the observance of a rite in the Primitive Church would not prove it to be of Apostolical ordinance, the general *non-observance* of a rite in it may certainly be taken as a proof that such rite was *not* prescribed for its observance by the Apostles.

Let us pass on to the case of rites and ordinances *observed* by us.

(1) The *First* is the practice of *infant baptism*.

It will not be denied, that we have at least the rite of *baptism* clearly enough prescribed in the Scriptures.

What we have to inquire, then, is, whether we can also clearly and plainly gather from the Scriptures, that *infants* are proper subjects of that rite.

It must be observed, however, that the question does not respect *all* infants indiscriminately, but those only that are born of believing parents, and so in a state different from those of the heathen, (1 Cor. vii. 14,) and are also presented to the Church by sureties, who undertake that they shall be educated in her communion.<sup>3</sup> The question, then, is, whether the Church

<sup>1</sup> See the Laodicean canon quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Can. Laod. 29. in Cod. Can. Univ. Eccl. can. 133. Voelli et Just. Bibl. Jur. Can. Vet. vol. i. p. 52. Or in any edition of the Councils.

<sup>3</sup> Cases may be supposed different from that mentioned above, where we might not be prepared to deny that baptism might be administered, as, for



is right in administering to an infant, brought to her under such circumstances—in whom unbelief cannot exist, and who is called by the Apostle holy on account of the faith of its parents—that rite which is a necessary introduction to its regular admission into the Christian Church, and consequently to its being formally placed in a position to receive the blessings promised by God exclusively to the members of the Church, and hoping for God's blessing upon its administration; the Church on her part undertaking to God, (on the promise of the child's sureties,) that the child shall be taught the terms of his covenant, and be brought up in obedience to it, and be called upon at the age of discretion *personally* to accept and promise obedience to it.

*First*, then, we observe, that the command to baptize, and the instances we have in Scripture of the practice, are given in the most general and comprehensive terms.

"Go and teach all nations," saith our Lord, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) And we find Lydia and "her household," the Philippian gaoler and "*all his*," and "the household" of Stephanas, baptized by the Apostles. (Acts xvi. 15, 33; 1 Cor. i. 16.)

*Secondly*, The language of our Lord on one occasion seems clearly to show, that baptism is, *in an ordinary way*, (as was the case with circumcision,) necessary to salvation, for he says, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (John iii. 5.) I will not say, with some of the Romanists, (who, when the subject of Tradition is out of sight, can clearly enough see the reference of this and other texts to infants as well as others,<sup>1</sup>) that this text shows, that baptism is absolutely a *sine quâ non* to the salvation of infants, because, as Archbishop Laud intimates, we are not to

instance, the possible case of an infant losing its unbelieving parents, and coming thereby under the guardianship of Christian relations or friends; but such are *extraordinary* cases, upon which no argument can be built.

<sup>1</sup> Bellarmine himself, after giving three arguments for pædobaptism from Scripture, adds, "*satis aperte colligatur ex Scripturis.*" BELLARM. De bapt. c. 9.

“bind God to the use and means of that sacrament to which he hath bound us;”<sup>1</sup> yet surely it follows from it, that it would be unjustifiable to exclude all infants from that rite without which ordinarily men “cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

Nor can it be said, that their tender age must at any rate prevent their suffering from the neglect of this rite, for the case of circumcision shows the contrary. “The uncircumcised man-child . . . shall be cut off from his people; *he hath broken my covenant.*” (Gen. xvii. 14.) If, then, it be the case, that baptism has been made ordinarily necessary for an entrance into the kingdom of God, then age, however tender, does not remove that necessity.

*Thirdly*, Has not Christ himself testified his willingness to receive such among the number of his people? for we read, that he was “much displeased” with his disciples for rebuking those that brought infants to him for his blessing, and said to them, “Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God . . . and he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.” (Mark x. 14, 16. See also Matt. xix. 14; Luke xviii. 16.) With this example, then, before us, we ask with confidence, Would the Church be justifiable in refusing to receive into her communion as subjects for Christ’s mercy, by the rite appointed for that purpose, infants brought to her under the circumstances supposed, or rather is she not bound to require of her members that their infants should be thus brought to her to be received by her into her communion, as those whom Christ’s example, when he was upon earth, shows that he is ready to accept and bless?

*Fourthly*, If infants are susceptible of the enjoyment of *any* Christian privileges, as of the remission of sins, spiritual grace, &c., and baptism is appointed by our Lord to be observed as a rite introductory to admission into the Christian Church, and the enjoyment of such privileges, then the Church is not

<sup>1</sup> LAUD’S Conference with Fisher, p. 36.

only justified in admitting infant baptism, but also has good reason for enjoining the practice upon her members.

Now, for the proof of the first of these points, I refer to the following passages: Jer. i. 5; Ezek. xvi. 20, 21; Luke i. 15; and also to the admission of Jewish infants, by the rite of circumcision, to the privileges of the Old Testament Covenant, which clearly shows, that the tender age of infants does not render them insusceptible of the enjoyment of such privileges. For the proof of the second of these points, viz., that baptism is a rite appointed to be observed as introductory to admission into the Christian Church, and the enjoyment of Christian privileges, I refer to the following passages: Acts ii. 41; Rom. vi. 3, 4; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Col. ii. 12; and especially to the text already quoted, that "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (John iii. 5.)

These two points, then, being clearly decided by Scripture in the affirmative, the consequence which follows from them is equally clearly established.<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, are the clear, and, as it appears to many, decisive arguments which Scripture affords us in favour of infant baptism. And I will only add, that Hooker considered this doctrine to be a *necessary* deduction from Scripture,<sup>2</sup> and that Bishop Taylor, in his last work, expressly rebukes his Romish antagonist for taking the ground which our opponents here maintain on this question.<sup>3</sup>

And when this doctrine is denied, we, in order to confirm the correctness of our deductions from Scripture, refer to the *practice* of the Primitive Church, as showing how they understood the matter. We do not make our appeal here to any

<sup>1</sup> We might, I think, add to these an argument derived from the rite of circumcision being administered to infants; but as our opponents deny almost any correspondence between the rites of circumcision and baptism, I content myself with noticing it here.

<sup>2</sup> HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. bk. i. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> JER. TAYLOR'S Diss. from Popery, Pt. ii. bk. i. § 3. Works, vol. x. pp. 430 et seq., where the bishop has also vindicated the Protestant grounds of faith in various other points.

*doctrinal statements* of the Fathers, as conclusive evidence of what *doctrinal statements* were delivered orally by the Apostles on the subject. But we refer to their statements of what passed under their own eyes, the daily *practice* of the Church, and hence obtain an argument for the correctness of our interpretation of Scripture on this point.

And in all matters that concern the *practice* of the Church, we obtain from the statements of the early Fathers conclusive evidence as to the observance or non-observance of this or that rite or usage at that time, and therefore evidence sufficient *in such a case* to justify us when following them. And even a *justification* of the usage is sufficient in infant baptism; for, be it observed, that, as Bishop Stillingfleet says,—“The main question between us and the Antipædobaptists, is not concerning an absolute and express command for baptizing infants, but whether our blessed Saviour hath not, by a positive precept, so determined the subject of baptism, viz., adult persons professing the faith, that the alteration of the subject, viz., in baptizing infants, be not a deviation from, and perversion of the institution of Christ, in a substantial part of it; or, in short, thus, Whether our Saviour hath so determined the subject of baptism, as to exclude infants. And although the question being thus stated, the proof ought to lie on those who affirm it, yet, taking in ONLY THE HELP OF SCRIPTURE AND REASON, it were no difficult matter to prove directly and evidently, that infants are so far from being excluded baptism by the institution of Christ, that there are as many grounds as are necessary to a matter of that nature, to prove that the baptizing them is suitable to the institution of Christ, and agreeable to the state of the Church, under the Gospel. For, if there were any ground to exclude them, it must be either the incapacity of the subject, or some express precept and institution of our Saviour. But neither of these can be supposed to do it.” This he proceeds to show at some length, and then adding some evidences to show how suitable the baptism of infants is to the admini-



stration of things under the gospel," he mentions, as one of them, "Had it been contrary to Christ's institution, we should not have had such evidences of its early *practice* in the Church, as we have. And here I acknowledge the use of Apostolical Tradition to manifest this to us . . . . We grant that the *practice* of the Church, from *Apostolical times*, is a great confirmation that it was never Christ's intention to have infants excluded from baptism."<sup>1</sup> Where we may see, that the view we have taken above of the use of Patristical Tradition in this matter, is precisely that of Bishop Stillingfleet.

(2) The *second* case is the observance of the Lord's Day.

In this there are three distinct points for consideration. First, that which relates to our assembling on the Lord's Day for public worship; Secondly, that which relates to the *necessity* of such an appropriation of the day by all Churches, as a divine institution; Thirdly, that which relates to abstinence from our usual worldly occupations on that day.

In all these, Scripture will be found a sufficient guide. In the second, indeed, it alone can be an *authoritative* guide; and in the third, it will be found practically our *only definite* guide.

First, then, the custom of assembling on the first day of the week for public worship, is clearly mentioned in Scripture as one followed by the Apostles and primitive Christians. Thus, on its first occurrence after our Lord's resurrection, we find the disciples assembled together<sup>2</sup> with the doors shut, for fear of the Jews, (John xx. 19,) at which time our Lord first appeared to them, and gave the Apostles their commission (vv. 19—23); and "*after eight days again his disciples were within,*" and

<sup>1</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Rational Account, &c. Part 1. c. 4. pp. 106—8.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ οὖν ὅλης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, κ. τ. λ. (John xx. 19.) Of the meaning of the phrase, τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, there can be no doubt, as it is used by *all the four Evangelists* to represent the day on which our Saviour rose from the dead; sometimes with, and sometimes without, the article; as, for instance, *μία σαββάτων*, Matt. xxviii. 1. τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων, Mark xvi. 2. τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, Luke xxiv. 1. τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, John xx. 1.

Jesus again vouchsafed his presence to them (v. 26);<sup>1</sup> that is, in other words, the next time of their assembling together, was on the recurrence of the first day of the week.

Of this custom mention is again clearly made in the Book of the Acts, where the sacred historian writes, we “came unto them to Troas . . . where we abode *seven* days. And upon *the first day of the week*, when the disciples came together to break bread, [*literally*, the disciples *being* met together to break bread,] Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow.”<sup>2</sup>

Here, then, we find that St. Paul stayed with these Christians *seven* days; and that during these *seven* days there was one, “*the first day of the week*,” on which “the disciples being met together to break bread,” Paul preached unto them. We hear nothing of any assembly on any other day; and on this the assembly was not, it appears, called together by St. Paul; but *being* met on that day, he took the opportunity of addressing them, and the object for which they were assembled was “to break bread;” that is, confessedly, to celebrate the eucharist, the reception of which was one great object for which the early Christians “came together in the Church;” (See 1 Cor. xi. 17—20) whence the Apostle calls it “coming together to eat.” (1 Cor. xi. 33.)

Again, the day is mentioned in Scripture as one on which the alms of the Christians were to be laid by for their poorer brethren. “Concerning the collection for the saints,” says St. Paul, “as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him; that there be no gatherings when I come.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτῶ, “after eight days;” i. e. (according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, including the day from which the reckoning was made,) the same day in the following week.

<sup>2</sup> Ἠλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, . . . οὐ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον, ὁ Παῦλος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξίέναι τῇ ἐπαύριον. Acts xx. 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ τιθέτω, θησαυρίζων ὃ, τι ἂν εὐοδῶται, ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω, τότε λογλαί γίνωνται. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Perhaps a

This shows, that the day which the former passages prove to have been used as a day for their assembling together for public worship, was also appointed for the act of charity here mentioned; a further proof of its appropriation to religious purposes generally.

Lastly, we find in the Book of Revelation a day distinguished by the title "the Lord's Day;"<sup>1</sup> which shows that at the time when the Apocalypse was written, "the Lord's Day" was a day generally known among Christians; and the name itself shows, on whose account it was observed, and to whom it was considered sacred. Now this name is invariably applied by the earliest Christian writers to signify the first day of the week, from its being consecrated to the Lord's service as the day on which he rose from the dead. Thus, for instance, Ignatius is, I believe, universally interpreted as speaking of the Lord's Day in his Epistle to the Magnesians.<sup>2</sup> Melito, Bishop of Sardis, composed a book entitled, "Concerning the Lord's Day."<sup>3</sup> Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in his Epistle to the Romans, says, "This day, being the Lord's Day, we have kept holy."<sup>4</sup> It is also very evidently spoken of, under this title, by Clement of Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> And by Tertullian ex-

better translation of these words than that in our authorized version would be, "Let every man lay by him *for* (or *against*) the first day of the week," &c.; that is, for the collection which was then made at the time of their being assembled together for public worship, as we learn from the earliest Christian writers, as we shall see presently. For otherwise, if each man's store was *laid by him*, there must have been a collection when the Apostle came, as much as if this had not been done.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐγενόμην ἐν Πνεύματι ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Rev. i. 10. We may add here, that the Codex Wechel. reads the passage in 1 Cor. xvi. 2. just referred to, Κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων τὴν Κυριακὴν.

<sup>2</sup> Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ. IGNAT. Ep. ad Magnes. § 9. Int. PATR. APOST. ed. Jacobson. tom. 2. p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Περὶ Κυριακῆς. EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 26. ed. Reading. p. 188. Where Eusebius also mentions his having written a work Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, which shows that the former work did not apply to that subject.

<sup>4</sup> Τὴν σήμερον Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν. EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 23. ed. Reading. p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> The Gnostic, he says, Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν [ποιεῖ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξά-

pressly ; “ On the Lord’s Day,” he says, “ we consider it a sin to fast, or to pray kneeling.”<sup>1</sup> The name is also to be found in Cyprian and Origen ; but it is unnecessary to trace it further.

From these passages of Scripture, then, it is very clear, that on the first day of the week the Apostles and primitive Christians were in the habit of assembling together for religious purposes, and of considering the day more or less sacred to Christ, calling it *the Lord’s Day*.

And with respect to this matter of fact, if the testimony in Scripture had been less, the records of the Primitive Church would have been sufficient to show us its *practice* in this respect, (though not to trace it quite so far back,) and thus to *recommend* the practice to us.

The testimonies we have already adduced, when speaking of the *name* by which this day was known, show its observance by the Church at that period. I will, therefore, here only add one more from Justin Martyr :—“ Upon the day called Sunday, “ all, both of those that live in cities, and those that live in “ the country, meet together in one place ; and the Gospels “ of the Apostles,<sup>2</sup> or the writings of the Prophets, are read as “ time will permit. Then when the reader has ceased, the “ president<sup>3</sup> addresses them, by way of admonition and exhortation to the imitation of the excellent things they have “ heard. Then we all rise up together and pray ; and, as I

ζων. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. vii. § 12. Op. ed. Potter. p. 877. (Sylb. 744.) We may note also the following passage in the “ Excerpta Theodoti ” usually printed with the works of Clement,—Ἡ μὲν οὖν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις, ἐν Κυριακῇ ἐν ὀγδοᾷδι, ἡ Κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται. § 63. p. 984. ed. Potter. (Sylb. p. 798. D.) The passage is evidently somewhat corrupt, but sufficiently clear for our present purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Die Dominico jejuniuin nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. TERTULL. De cor. mil. c. 3. Op. ed. 1664. p. 102. The name is also to be found in the “ Quæstiones et Respons. ad orthod.” (q. 115.) attributed to Justin Martyr ; in which it is stated, that the custom of standing at prayer on Sunday, is said by Irenæus, in his work, Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα, to have been a custom of the Church from the times of the Apostles.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, which he elsewhere explains by the words ἀ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁ προεστῶς.



“ have already said, when we have finished praying, bread is brought, and wine and water ; and the president offers, to the best of his ability,<sup>1</sup> prayers and thanksgivings ; and the people add their voice in consent, saying, Amen ; and there is a distribution and communication of the Eucharist to each one, and it is sent to those who are not present, through the deacons. But the wealthy, who please, give according to their pleasure, each one what he pleases, of that which belongs to him ; and the collection is deposited with the president, and he assists the orphans and widows, and those who, from sickness, or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in prison, and foreigners dwelling among us ; and, in a word, bestows his care upon all that are in need. But we all meet together on Sunday, because it is the first day ; that in which God, having produced a change in darkness and matter, made the world : and because Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead on that day.”<sup>2</sup>

Other testimonies might easily be added ; and if any one is inclined to dispute, whether this was the *practice* of the Church at that time, we refer to these testimonies, without any injury to our argument, as conclusive evidence that it was, and hence draw an important argument for its observance by all Churches to the end of time.

But this is a point on which we must take higher ground, and therefore proceed to—

The second question relating to this subject, namely, that which respects the *necessity* of such an appropriation of the day by all Churches as a divine institution.

That it is necessary, we are agreed ; and the proof, as it appears to me, rests upon two grounds, first, the practice of

<sup>1</sup> Ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ. These words have been sometimes considered a proof that the prayers and thanksgivings were extempore ; but in the former part of the Apology (§ 13. p. 51) the same words are used with reference to Christians generally, (ὅση δύναμις αἰνοῦντες,) and therefore may perhaps refer to the conduct and dispositions of the worshipper, rather than the words uttered. See further remarks in L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, pp. 207, 8. ed. 1690.

JUSTIN. MART. Apol. 1. § 67. Op. ed. Bened. pp. 83, 4. See also the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, § 15, and the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan.

the *Apostolical Church*, and, secondly, the sanctification of one day in each seven by God himself, which day the practice of the Apostolical Church appears to show was transferred under the Christian dispensation from the seventh to the first, in honour of our Saviour's resurrection. Both these, then, may be derived from Scripture; nor could the *necessity* of the practice be established, as it appears to me, but upon Scripture testimony.

First, the practice of the Apostolical Church. This, as we have seen, is manifested by Scripture. And the *practice* of the Primitive Church shows, that they regarded it as of perpetual observance. And I suppose it hardly needs to be argued, that, *in such a matter*, the *fact* that a day was set apart for public worship by *the Church when it included the Apostles*, is quite sufficient of itself to render it incumbent upon all Churches to follow their example.

And we thus place it upon the ground of Apostolical and primitive *practice*, (in the absence of an express Apostolical command,) in contradistinction to the foundation upon which our opponents would place it, namely, certain Patristical statements of what our Lord or his Apostles *orally delivered*, in which we cannot place the same reliance as in those which concern the *practice* of the Church, to which they were eye-witnesses. I may observe, also, that I have yet been unable to find one testimony during the whole of the first three centuries, in which it is stated, that any such command was delivered by our Lord or his Apostles; nor, as it appears to me, do we need any. I am quite ready to admit, however, that as the testimonies of several Fathers in favour of a doctrine is to a certain extent an argument in favour of it, so may we derive a confirmation of our views respecting the Lord's day, from the statements of several of the Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries, as Eusebius, Athanasius, Ambrose, &c., that this day was specially commanded to be observed by our Lord and his Apostles. I will only observe, that a more stringent proof with me would be that passage in Clement of Rome, a *contemporary* of the Apostles, where he says, that "we ought to do all things in

“order whatsoever the Lord commanded us to perform, *at the times appointed*, and to be careful that our offerings and public services are performed ; and he has commanded these to be done, *not at chance times and without order, but at certain fixed times and seasons*,” &c.<sup>1</sup> Which passage, coming from a *contemporary* of the Apostles, when coupled with the practice of the Apostolical Church, has great weight.

But the necessity of the practice is usually placed upon still stronger grounds, viz. the sanctification of one day in each seven by God himself, from the beginning, which day, the practice of the Apostolical Church appears to show, was transferred under the Christian dispensation from the seventh to the first, in honour of our Saviour’s resurrection.

It will not, I suppose, be denied, that the sanctification of the seventh day by God himself *from the beginning* must be proved by Scripture authority, or not at all, however it may be *confirmed* from other sources ; and if such sanctification be proved, then it seems to follow, that when the Apostles, who were guided in such matters by the Spirit of God, abrogated the seventh day Sabbath, and devoted the first day of the week to the purposes of religion, as we have shown from Scripture they did, they *substituted* that first day for the seventh as a day to be sanctified by us.

And without attempting here fully to discuss this point, which would occupy us too long, I shall only refer our opponents to what “the judicious” Hooker says on the subject, which may show them that I have here placed this matter precisely upon the foundation on which he has rested it. “The moral law,” he says, “requiring *a seventh part* throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed in regard of a new revelation begun by our Saviour Christ, yet the same portion of time continueth, which was before, because in

<sup>1</sup> Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ Δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους· τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐικῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὀρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ἔραις. CLEM. ROM. Ep. ad Corinth. i. § 40. Inter PATR. APOST. ed. Jacobson. vol. i. pp. 136, 138.

“reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of  
 “renovation, thereunto added by him, which was Prince of  
 “the world to come, we are bound to account the sanctifica-  
 “tion of one day in seven a duty which God’s immutable law  
 “doth exact for ever.”<sup>1</sup>

And then, proceeding to notice other days which ecclesiastical precept and usage had appropriated as festival or sacred days, he justly animadverts upon the folly of those who thought, that the Church had no right to recommend the observance of such days, while at the same time he manifestly considers *all* those days to stand upon a very different footing from that which had express Apostolical and divine sanction for its observance.<sup>2</sup>

But if we consult the Fathers on this point, we shall find them altogether at variance as to *the observance of one day in seven* as a holy day *from the beginning*, and three of the earliest and best authorities among them, namely, Justin Martyr,<sup>3</sup> Irenæus,<sup>4</sup> and Tertullian,<sup>5</sup> distinctly maintaining, that the Patriarchs before Moses did not observe any such day, which would completely cut away the ground from under us in this argument for the *necessity* of observing the Lord’s day, because by such statements they make the observance of one day in seven as a holy day merely a Jewish ordinance.

The third point involved in this matter is that which relates to abstinence from our usual worldly occupations on this day.

The proof of this is, I need hardly say, to be found in what we have just been endeavouring to show, namely, that the observance of the first day of the week under the Christian dispensation, corresponds with the observance of the seventh under the Old Testament dispensation, the two days being alike dedicated to the service of God, and *differing* in the precise mode of observance only according as *the dispensations* differ from each other.

HOOKE’S Eccl. Pol. bk. v. c. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See *the whole* of his c. 71.

<sup>3</sup> JUST. MART. Dial. cum Tryph. § 19. Op. ed. Ben. p. 119.

IREN. Adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 16. ed. Mass. (c. 30. ed. Grab.)

<sup>5</sup> TERTULL. Adv. Jud. cc. 2 and 4.



But, that a *unanimous consent* of Fathers can be shown for this, is a point which I must leave for our opponents to prove. I should have no wish to disturb it, if it could be proved, nor have I any inclination to enter here upon any attempt to disprove it, but the passages I have referred to in the note below may be worth considering before any such assertions are ventured respecting it.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The third example is,—*the perpetual obligation of the eucharist.*

Our opponents seem to care but little how they weaken the *Scriptural* foundation for the doctrines and rites of the Christian religion, if only they can force us to a dependance upon their beloved “Tradition,” or surely they would never have resorted to such a statement as this. Not to notice our Lord’s

<sup>1</sup> For the first three centuries we have unfortunately nothing definite on the point; but after that period there occur passages which, if we pretend to rest the point in question upon the unanimous consent of the Fathers, will need some skill in interpreting to reconcile them with others. Thus, Constantine himself directs,—“Omnes iudices, urbanaeque plebes, et cunctorum artium officia venerabili die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere licenterque inserviant: quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis, aut vineæ serobibus mendantur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cælesti provisione concessa.”—Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. 12. De feriis. 1. 3. ed. Lips. 1705, vol. ii. col. 194. The direction of the Laodicean Council, *τὴν κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας, εἶγε δύναιτο, σχολάζειν*, (Conc. Laod. can. 29. in Bibl. Justell. p. 52.) may perhaps be reconciled by supposing the words *εἶγε δύναιτο* to refer to slaves and persons under the power of another, but this, be it observed, is not the explanation given by Balsamon and Zonaras. The third Council of Orleans decrees, “Quia persuasum est populis die dominico agi cum caballis aut bobus et vehiculis itinera non debere, neque ullam rem ad victum præparare, vel ad nitorem domus vel hominis pertinentem ullatenus exercere, (quæ res ad Judaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere probatur,) id statuimus, ut die dominico, quod ante fieri licuit, liceat. De opere tamen rurali, id est, arato, vel vinea, vel sectione, messione, excussione, exarto [exerto] vel sepe censuimus abstinendum, quo facilius ad ecclesiam convenientes orationis gratiæ [gratia] vacent.” (Concil. Aurel. iii. Can. 28. Concil. ed. 1671. vol. v. col. 302.) What can we say, moreover, to the passage of Jerome, where, speaking in praise of Paula and her companions, he says,—“Die dominico ad ecclesiam procedebant ex cujus habitabant latere. Et unumquodque agmen matrem propriam sequebatur, atque inde pariter reverentes, instabant operi distributo, et vel sibi, vel cæteris indumenta faciebant.” (Hieron. Ep. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ matris. Ep. 108. § 19. ed. Vallars. Venet. 1766. vol. i. col. 712.)

command, "Do this *in remembrance of me*," where the notice of the *object* for which the rite is to be observed, is sufficient at once to stamp it as one of perpetual obligation, what I would ask is the meaning of St. Paul's words, that in this rite we "show the Lord's death *till he come*?" (1 Cor. xi. 26.)

It would be a waste of words, however, to enlarge on such a point.

And were we to go to the records of the Primitive Church to confirm our view of the matter, the appeal, be it observed, would be, not to the Fathers as witnesses of what the Apostles *said*, nor to what "the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles *thought*," respecting it, but merely to the *practice* of the Church.

(4) We are next sent to Tradition to assure us, *fourthly*, of the *identity of our mode of consecration in the eucharist with the Apostolical*.

This Mr. Keble considers to be essential to our receiving any benefit from it. But surely the accounts of this matter given us by the Evangelists and by St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 23, et seq.) are sufficient on this head! If not, I know not how Mr. Keble can prove more to be Apostolical, unless he rests upon Liturgies known to be either spurious, or more or less interpolated, or of too late a date to prove anything, which he must excuse us from receiving as any certain evidence of the precise mode in which the Apostles acted. But alas! he seems to think that such evidence is conclusive. For thus he writes;—"Not to dwell on *disputable* cases . . . where, except "in the primitive Liturgies, a main branch of that Tradition, "can we find *assurance*, that in the Holy Eucharist we consecrate as the Apostles did, and *consequently* that the cup of "blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of "Christ, and the bread which we break the communion of the "body of Christ?" (p. 38.) Mr. Keble forgot, that he had first to show, that such identity in the form used was necessary to assure us of an acceptable celebration of the Eucharist. He implies, that, unless we use the same form of words with the Apostles, we cannot be sure, that our celebration of the

Eucharist is acceptable to God. I beg to ask, Why not? He might as well assert, that we could not be sure that our prayers were acceptable to God, unless we prayed precisely in the same words that the Apostles did. One might suppose he was speaking of some magical incantation. Why any precise form of words should be necessary, it is difficult to conceive, nor, as far as I am aware, can even Patristical Tradition be pleaded in favour of such necessity.

Nay, more; Mr. Keble has here involved himself in a difficulty which he will find insuperable. For, even if Patristical Tradition was to be trusted in the matter, it does not inform us, what precise "mode of consecration" was used by the Apostles. And to this day it is a matter of dispute between us and the Romanists, whether the act of consecration is performed by the recital of the words of institution, or by prayer and thanksgiving over the elements, and both sides have their proofs from the Fathers.

In fact, when we come to examine the statements of the Fathers, in order to ascertain what is the precise testimony of Patristical Tradition as to the act of consecration, we find a considerable difference in their language on the subject; some of them speaking of the consecration as performed by prayer and thanksgiving, some of its being performed by prayer alone, and others by the benediction or thanksgiving alone; and at other times the consecration seems to be attributed (as I have just observed) to the recital of the words of institution.

And if we determine, that the Apostles consecrated the elements by prayer, then the question arises, "What sort of prayer was it?" Where, then, are we to get the answer? Will Mr. Keble send us to the elaborate prayers in the Apostolical Constitutions, or the antient Liturgies? If so, to obviate any long discussion about their claims upon us, I will refer him to Gregory the Great, who will tell him, that the Apostles used only the Lord's Prayer to consecrate the elements.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Keble will find, that the Fathers themselves take very

<sup>1</sup> *Orationem Dominicam* idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. GREGOR. MAGN. Epist. lib. ix. indict. 2. epist. 12. Op. ed. Bened. tom. ii. col. 940.



different ground in this matter from what he has maintained. It is to the Scriptural statements on the subject, and not to any tradition as to how the Apostles celebrated it, that they always refer when treating on the subject.

And so our own L'Estrange clearly refers to Scripture as showing the right mode of consecration. "I must adhere," he says, "in judgment to those learned men who derive consecration from the word of God and prayer, *the very way by which our Saviour Christ himself sanctified those elements in his first institution*, (Matt. xxvi. 26,) *εὐλογήσας*, calling upon God "for his blessing, and *εὐχαριστήσας* giving thanks."<sup>1</sup>

(5) Tradition is said further to teach us,

*Fifthly*, that "consecration by apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the eucharist;" that is, the elements must be blessed by one ordained by succession from the Apostles.

For this Mr. Keble quotes the following passage from Ignatius;—"Let that eucharist be accounted valid which is "under the bishop or some one commissioned by him;"<sup>2</sup> and adds, as follows,—"Wherein he lays down the rule which *we know was universally received in the Primitive Church* [*? how do we know this*] that consecration by Apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the eucharist, "and so far generally necessary to salvation. Now, supposing "this could not be at all proved from Scripture, (*as it may, in a great measure, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds*), still "it might be accepted *on the above evidence as a necessary rule* "of Church communion without infringing on our sixth "Article."<sup>3</sup> He considers, therefore, that no one receives the eucharist, who does not receive it so consecrated. This is given as an instance that a rule may be both Divine and generally necessary to salvation, and yet not be contained in Scripture;

<sup>1</sup> L'ESTRANGE'S Alliance of Divine Offices. 2d ed. 1690. p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> IGNAT. Ad Smyrn. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> KEBLE'S Sermon. p. 78. Combining this doctrine with what is maintained in Tract 85, p. 51, that the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel refers to the Lord's Supper, the members of unepiscopal churches are left altogether without hope.



and Mr. Keble holds, that this view is not opposed to the sixth Article. For, the *doctrine* that such consecration is *necessary*, he holds that it would be wrong to put into the Creed, because *the knowledge* of this doctrine, he thinks, is not necessary to a right and faithful participation of the eucharist, though clearly, according to his view of the matter, a man is entirely deprived of the benefits of the eucharist unless he acts as if he had that knowledge, and by this distinction he hopes to escape condemnation by the sixth Article. Now, supposing that a participation of the eucharist is generally necessary to salvation, I ask, whether, if we teach upon the authority of "Tradition," that that eucharist only is valid which is consecrated by one episcopally ordained, and consequently that we must partake of the eucharist so consecrated, we do not teach something as "requisite or necessary to salvation," which "is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby?" and thereby offend against the sixth Article? for the Article not only speaks of what is "to be *believed* as an article of the faith," but *also* that "*whatsoever*" is not so proved is not to be "*thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*" If, then, Mr. Keble wishes not to fall under the condemnation of the sixth Article, he will, I think, find it necessary to fall back upon his Scripture proof; and where that proof is to be found, it is difficult to conjecture.

But, dismissing the question of the consistency of this statement with the Article, let us proceed to the consideration of the doctrine here maintained. It is asserted, that, in the absence of all proof from Scripture, a single passage of Ignatius is sufficient to show, that it is a necessary rule of Church communion, that is, of communion with the Universal Church, and hence, of course, the Foreign Reformed Churches are excluded from the pale of that communion.

Now, as to the propriety and validity of such consecration, be it remembered, there is no question moved by any one, nor do we doubt its being, under ordinary circumstances, the *orderly* consecration. The practice of the Primitive Church may be taken as a sufficient testimony of that. Indeed, the

separation of certain persons as spiritual teachers and leaders of the worship of the people would at once point them out to us as, under all ordinary circumstances, the dispensers of the sacraments. Be it observed, then, that, as a point of ecclesiastical *order*, we maintain firmly, that, under all ordinary circumstances, the clergy are the only proper dispensers of the sacraments. But as to the *essential necessity* of such consecration, *in all cases and under all circumstances*, that is the question. If it can be proved from Scripture, as Mr. Keble says, well and good. But against such a doctrine being laid down on the authority of the passage in Ignatius, or half a dozen such passages, we must protest. For, in the first place, Ignatius had a particular case in his eye, and was addressing a Church where purity of doctrine and worship existed, and where, therefore, there was no reason why the performance of the offices of the Church should be taken out of the hands of those who had been separated for that service; and consequently it follows not from these words, that if Ignatius had been addressing the Christians of the West in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, he would have used the same language, or said to them as he did to the Magnesians, Do nothing without your bishops. And secondly, we protest against such a doctrine being laid down on the authority of a few passages of the antient Fathers, even if they did speak of it either as an Apostolical doctrine, or as one universally received in the Primitive Church. Nay, further, we must take still higher ground, and call in question the alleged *fact* of its universal reception in the Primitive Church, even upon the showing of the records that remain to us.

The truth is, that this doctrine is derived from the supposition, that the Eucharist is a true and proper sacrifice to God, and that the clergy are true and proper priests, alone authorized by God, through ordination by succession from the Apostles, to offer it,—a supposition which I need not say is utterly unsupported by Scripture, for its defenders scarcely venture to claim such support for it, but—what is more—one which the records of the Apostolically-primitive Church also repudiate.

On these points we shall have occasion to speak more at large presently ; but as it respects the point in hand, it is impossible for any ingenuity to get over the passage of Tertullian which Dodwell has vainly attempted to explain away.<sup>1</sup> The passage is as clear as words can make it. Speaking against second marriages, he says, "We shall be foolish if we suppose, that " what is not lawful to priests is lawful to laymen. Are not " those of us who are laics priests ? It is written, ' He hath " made us kings and priests to God and his Father.' The " authority of the Church has appointed the difference between " the Order and the People, and the dignity is sacred, where " there is an assembly of the Order ; so, *where there is no as-* " *sembly of the ecclesiastical Order, you both offer [i. e. in the* " *Eucharist] and baptize, and are alone a priest to yourself.* " Moreover, where there are three, there is a Church, *although* " *they be laymen.* For each one lives by his own faith, nor is " there respect of persons with God, since not the hearers of the " law, but the doers, are justified by God, as the Apostle says. " Therefore, if you *have in yourself the rights of a priest where* " *necessity requires it,* it is right that you should also conform " to the discipline befitting a priest, where it may be necessary " to have the rights of a priest. Do you baptize after a second " marriage ? Do you offer after a second marriage ? How " much worse is it for a layman twice married to act as a " priest, when the power of acting as a priest is taken away " from a priest himself upon contracting a second marriage ? " But you say it is conceded to the necessity of the case. No " necessity is admitted but that which cannot be otherwise. " Take care not to be found a digamist, and you do not fall " into the necessity of administering that which it is not lawful " for a digamist to administer. God would have *all of us* so " circumstanced as to be everywhere ready to *perform his* " *sacraments.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See DODWELL'S " De jure laicorum sacerdotali."

<sup>2</sup> " Vani erimus, si putaverimus, quod sacerdotibus non liceat laicis licere. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus ? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter Ordinem et Plebem

Whatever may be thought of this passage in other respects, one thing is clear, that Tertullian had no notion, that consecration by a bishop or presbyter was *essential* to the participation of the Eucharist, but distinctly held, that, in their absence, it was quite competent to a layman to celebrate it; which shows that he regarded it merely as a matter of *ecclesiastical order*. For this passage, which had been shamefully falsified in the editions of Pamelius,<sup>1</sup> we are indebted to the honesty of Rigaltius, who gave the passage as he found it; and, in his first edition,<sup>2</sup> added a note explanatory of the passage, in which he admitted, that it recognised the power of a layman both to baptize and offer the Eucharist, in a case of *necessity* such as here contemplated;<sup>3</sup> but suffered for his temerity in affixing such a note, being vehemently attacked for it by Albaspinæus, Archbishop of Orleans, in his treatise “On the Eucharist,” and others; and afterwards, the matter being carried before the Pope, was forced to make his peace for it with Rome in the best way he could;<sup>4</sup> and for this note are

constituit Ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per Ordinis concessum sanctificatus, adeo ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est concessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici. Unusquisque enim sua fide vivit, nec est personarum acceptio apud Deum; quoniam non auditores legis justificantur a Deo, sed factores, secundum quod et Apostolus dicit. Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis? Digamus offers? Quanto magis laico digamo capitale est agere pro sacerdote, quum ipsi sacerdoti digamo facto auferatur agere sacerdotem? Sed necessitati, inquis, indulgetur. Nulla necessitas excusatur quæ potest non esse. Noli denique digamus deprehendi, et non committis in necessitatem administrandi quod non licet digamo. Omnes nos Deus ita vult dispositos esso, ut ubique sacramentis ejus obcundis apti simus.” TERTULL. De exhort. castit. c. 7. Op. ed. 1664. p. 522. The doctrine that three laymen constitute a Church is repeated in his De Pudicit. c. 21.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. 1. p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Par. 1628. 8vo

<sup>3</sup> See his note pp. 137, 8.

<sup>4</sup> The opinion of Rigaltius was defended by Grotius in his treatise, “De administratione cœnæ ubi Pastores non sunt.” To this Petavius replied in his treatise, “De potestate consecrandi et sacrificandi sacerdotibus a Deo concessa.” Salmasius, under the name of Walo Messalinus, followed on the same side as Grotius, in his treatise “De Episcopis,” and afterwards Henry Dodwell, on the other, in his “De jure laicorum sacerdotali.”



substituted, in his subsequent editions, some evasive words that have no meaning.

And for such an application of this passage, I have the authority of as learned a witness in such matters as can well be adduced, namely, Bingham, who says, with reference to this passage, "*Tertullian grants no other priesthood to laymen, save that they may baptize in case of absolute necessity, when none of the ecclesiastical Order can be had* [and therefore, in the same case, celebrate the Eucharist, for 'Tertullian's words apply alike to one sacrament as to the other']; WHICH WAS ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH." He adds, in which I cordially agree with him,—"*But does by no means confound the offices of clergy and laity together, unless any one can think cases ordinary and extraordinary all one.*"<sup>1</sup>

Nor is this passage of Tertullian the only one which shows, that at that period there was no such notion entertained as that which our opponents here urge upon us, and even seem to regard as vital. There is a remarkable passage of a similar kind in Justin Martyr, in which he clearly speaks of *all Christians* being priests of God, as *being* persons admitted by him to offer acceptable *sacrifices* to him, even the sacrifices of prayer and praise; mentioning particularly, *among the latter*, the sacrifice made in *the eucharist of the bread and wine*. These are his words. "*We [Christians] are God's true sacerdotal race*, as also God himself testifies, saying, that, *in every place among the nations, they shall offer to him acceptable and pure sacrifices*. But God accepts sacrifices from no one but from his priests. God, therefore, having willingly received *all of us* who, through this name, offer *the sacrifices* which Jesus Christ has directed to be made, *that is, in the eucharist of the bread and the cup*, which in every place of the earth are made by Christians, witnesses that we are well-pleasing to him;" and then, a little further on, very clearly shows what he means by "*sacrifices*" in these words,—"*That, therefore, both prayers and thanksgivings (eucharists) made by THE WORTHY*

<sup>1</sup> BINGHAM'S *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, bk. i. c. 5, 4.

“are the only perfect and acceptable *sacrifices* to God, I also affirm. *For these alone Christians have been taught to perform,* both for a memorial of their food, both as to meat and drink, and one in which a commemoration is made of the passion which God [read, the Son] of God suffered for them.”<sup>1</sup>

As far, then, as it regards the essentials of the sacrament itself, the eucharist of *pious Christians* [ἀγίων] is, according to Justin Martyr, an acceptable sacrifice to God. The office of the bishop or presbyter, then, with respect to it, is a point not affecting the reality of the sacrament, but one of *ecclesiastical order*; and one therefore, be it remembered, which in the eyes of him who has instituted the ministerial office, and who is the God of order, is, under ordinary circumstances, of no little moment.

Before I conclude this head, I would also point the reader's attention to a remarkable passage on this subject in the writings of another Romanist—though, it must be admitted, one upon whom Rome appears to have had a very slight hold, being, nevertheless, one of her most learned sons,—I mean Erasmus. In a Letter to Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, he says,—“It is evident that in the times of the Apostles there was a communion which *laymen made among themselves*, with the offering of prayer and praise; and that bread, as is probable, they called the body of the Lord, as even in the Holy Scriptures the same word is frequently applied to the sign and the thing signified. . . . Nor do we find any place in the Canonical Writings where the Apostles certainly con-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρχιερατικόν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ, ἐπὶ πάντων ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι θυσίας εὐαρέστους αὐτῷ καὶ καθαρὰς προσφέροντες. Οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ. Πάντας οὖν οἱ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου θυσίας ἅς παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τούτέστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, τὰς ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς γῆς γινομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, προλαβὼν ὁ Θεός, μαρτυρεῖ εὐαρέστους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ . . . . “Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαρισταὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοι εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς φημι. ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρὰς τε καὶ ὕγρας, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ [αὐτοῦς] ὁ Θεὸς [ὑπὸς] τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. JUST. MART. Dial. cum Tryphl. §§ 116, 117. Op. ed. Ben. pp. 209, 210. (pp. 344, 345, ed. Col. 1686.)

“sacred the body of the Lord, as it is now consecrated on the altar, except one passage in the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and nevertheless in the tenth chapter, whence this discourse of Paul had originated, there “is apparently no reference to *priestly consecration*.”<sup>1</sup>

There can be little doubt, I think, what were the sentiments of Erasmus when he penned this.

I proceed to the remaining points, which relate to the ministerial office and character.

(6) We are told that we are indebted to Tradition,

*Sixthly, for the knowledge of the separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct Order.*

What may be the *precise* meaning of this, I am not sure. If it means, that the clergy are priests to sacrifice for the people, or that they are so separated from the laity that none of the duties of their office could, under any circumstances, be performed by a layman without sacrilege or profane presumption, then, certainly, Scripture is altogether deficient in such information; and so, as I shall hereafter show, is “Tradition” too. Or if it be a matter of *words and names*, we may not be able to find it in Scripture. It is necessary, then, in order to give a clear and definitive answer on this point, to know what is the precise claim made for the clergy.

But if the claim be that which alone either Scripture or Fathers will warrant, namely, that they are persons set apart, in accordance with the expressed will of our Lord and his Apostles, to minister to mankind in spiritual things, and thus have an office which others, not so set apart, have not, and therefore ought not, under ordinary circumstances, to interfere with, then I do not understand, how it can be maintained, that

<sup>1</sup> “Deinde constat, temporibus Apostolorum fuisse synaxim, quam laici inter se faciebant adhibita precatione et benedictione, et eum panem (ut est probabile) appellabant corpus Domini: ut frequenter etiam in sacris literis eadem vox signo et rei signatæ accommodatur. . . Nec usquam in Canonicis Literis invenitur, ubi Apostoli certo consecraverint corpus Domini, sicut nunc consecratur in altari, excepto uno loco prioris ad Corinthios Epistolæ xi. et tamen in x. capite unde fluxerat hic Pauli sermo, non videtur agi de consecratione sacerdotali.” ERASMI ROT. Ep. Cuthb. Tonstall. Inter Epist. lib. 26. Ep. 59. col. 1478, 9. ed. Lond. 1642.



the distinction between such persons and the general body of Christians is not to be found in Scripture. What is the meaning of the following texts? "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. iv. 11—13.) "For this cause," says St. Paul to Titus, "left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and *ordain elders in every city*, as I had appointed thee; if any be blameless," &c. (Tit. i. 5 et seq.) "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and *are over you in the Lord*, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake." (1 Thess. v. 12, 13.) "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow." (Heb. xiii. 7.) "Take heed," says St. Paul to "the elders [or presbyters] of the Church" of Ephesus, "unto yourselves, and to all *the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God*, which he hath purchased with his own blood. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing *the flock*. Also of *your own selves* shall men arise, speaking perverse things," &c. (Acts xx. 17, 28—30.)

Does not Scripture, then, clearly teach us, that there were, from the first, certain men peculiarly set apart by Divine and Apostolical direction, for "the work of the ministry," and direction of the Church? Nay, one of our opponents' own witnesses, Dr. Hammond, will tell them, that, as to the distinction between the laity and the clergy, it is *obvious enough* in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. For there we find frequent mention, as of *bishops, priests, and deacons*, so also of *the brethren*, and *the faithful*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Quod ad rem [i. e. laicorum et clericorum distinctionem] attinet, ea sacris Instrumenti Novi Scriptoris satis nota est. Imo et voces plane



That the distinction, however, was such that laymen were unable, under any circumstances, to perform any of those acts for the performance of which the clergy were set apart, is quite another question; and if our opponents mean to contend for such a distinction as this, then not only will Scripture, but the Fathers also, fail them in proving it. This I have already shown under a former head, and, therefore, shall here only add what the author of the Commentary on the Ephesians, attributed sometimes to Hilary the Deacon, sometimes to Ambrose, tells us. "It was granted to ALL," he says, "at first, both to preach the gospel, and to baptize, and to interpret the Scriptures in the Church."<sup>1</sup>

And as it respects, at least, preaching the gospel and interpreting the Scriptures, even in the Church, it is evident from Scripture, that, in the Apostolical times, these acts were not unfrequently performed by those who had not been expressly ordained for the purpose. "They that were scattered abroad," after the death of Stephen, "went everywhere preaching the gospel." (Acts viii. 4.) "They which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, &c. preaching the word. . . . And some of them spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." (Acts xi. 19—21.) And St. Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians clearly forbids none but women to teach in their public assemblies, if only it was

*ἰσοδυναμοῦσαι*, et ad illud ipsum quod Ignatius adstruit indicandum destinatæ, ubique obviæ sunt. Ibi enim ut *ἐπισκόπου, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων*, &c., ita et *ἀδελφῶν* et *πιστῶν*, mentionem non semel factam videmus." HAMMOND. Diss. contra Blondell. &c., diss. 2. c. 6. Works vol. 4. Appendix, p. 750.

<sup>1</sup> "Omnibus inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare." Comm. in Eph. iv. 11, 12. Inter Ambros. Op. ed. Ben. tom. 2. app. col 241. I would here remark also, that at a meeting of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and a considerable number of the Bishops, at the beginning of the last century, convened for the purpose of considering the question of the validity or invalidity of lay baptisms, with reference to the dissenters, it was unanimously agreed, that such baptisms were, in the view of our Church, valid. See Archbishop Sharp's Life, vol. i. pp. 369 et seq.

done with due attention to order, so that there were not two speaking at the same time. (See 1 Cor. xiv. 26—34.) And if this example be objected to, on the ground that the Apostle spoke only of those who had some extraordinary direct illapse of the Spirit upon them, without altogether allowing the force of the objection, I reply, that this only shows, that such spiritual gifts for the work of the ministry were not confined to those who were especially ordained for it by imposition of hands. Such also was the custom with the Jews in their synagogues. Our blessed Lord was constantly permitted to teach in their synagogues, (see Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35. Luke iv. 15, 31—33, 44. John xviii. 20,) and so were his disciples, (see Acts ix. 20. xiii. 5,) nay invited, for we read that on one occasion, “after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.” (Acts xiii. 15.)

The custom, therefore, was not unlikely to prevail for a time in the early Christian assemblies, though doubtless it was soon found inexpedient, and tending to produce rivalry and confusion.

We are not, however, without instances even of a later date. Such things were not at all apt to alarm the Church, even at a subsequent period, and when occurring under circumstances that certainly made them objectionable; for Eusebius, after telling us that Origen, when he had fled from Alexandria to Cæsarea, was asked by the bishops there to expound the Scriptures in the Church, though not ordained a presbyter, gives us an extract from a letter written by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea, to Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, who had blamed them for this, in which they say, “As to what you have added in your letters, that it was never before heard of or done, that *laymen should preach in the presence of bishops*,<sup>1</sup> you have in this *strangely and most widely wandered from the truth*. For, where there are found such as are able to profit the brethren, those the holy bishops voluntarily exhort to preach to the

<sup>1</sup> παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς δηλεῖν.

“ people. Thus, Euelpis was asked to preach by Neon at Laranda, Paulinus by Celsus at Iconium, Theodorus by Atticus at Synnada, who were our most blessed brethren. And the same thing was probably done elsewhere, although it does not come within our knowledge.”<sup>1</sup> Such proceedings, I confess, appear irregular and disorderly, and likely, under ordinary circumstances, to lead to much evil. Nor can they be reasonably defended on the ground that such lay ministrations were allowed in the Apostolical times, because the circumstances under which they took place were very different when the Church was in her infancy; but our opponents would, I think, do well to consider, how strongly these occurrences in the early Church go to disprove their assertion, that for their high-flown notions of the exclusive rights of the clergy in things spiritual they have the universal consent of pure Antiquity.

(7) I pass on to the

*Seventh* point, namely,—*The threefold Order of the ministry*; another point for which, according to our opponents, we are indebted to Tradition.

To see the labours of our great divines who have pointed out the clear and plain authority we have in Scripture for the threefold Order of our ministry thus dismissed as unavailing, for the mere purpose of propping up the cause of “Tradition,” is indeed melancholy. The very ground upon which our greatest theologians have rested the strength of their cause in this matter, is thus abandoned, and the constitution of our ministry placed upon a foundation of sand.

To add anything new to the proofs which our divines have so frequently adduced from Scripture on the point we are now considering, I pretend not, but will briefly remind the reader how the case really stands.

For some time after our Lord’s ascension, the Church was confined to Jerusalem, and the work of the ministry performed apparently by the Apostles alone. (See Acts ch. i.—v., particularly ii. 42. iv. 35. v. 29, 42.) But, “when the num-

<sup>1</sup> EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. vi. 19. ed. Reading. p. 283, 284.

ber of the disciples was multiplied," (Acts vi. 1.) it was considered by the Apostles, that there were some parts of the ministerial office which might with advantage be delegated to others, and accordingly the Order of deacons was appointed for the subordinate duties of the ministry, in order that the Apostles might "give themselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word," (Acts vi. 4,) and they were ordained to their office by imposition of hands by the Apostles. (Acts vi. 6.)

Further, we find that in the Church thus existing at Jerusalem there was also an Order of presbyters, sharing with the Apostles themselves the supreme government of the Church; for, upon the dispute respecting circumcision, "the apostles and elders [presbyters] came together for to consider of this matter." (Acts xv. 6.) And though it appears, that there were others present in such councils besides them, (Acts xv. 22, 23,) yet it is evident, that the decisions depended upon the Apostles and elders [presbyters] only, for it is said, that Paul and Silas, "as they went through the cities, delivered them the decrees for to keep that were ordained of *the apostles and elders [presbyters]* that were at Jerusalem." (Acts xvi. 4, see also xxi. 18, 25.) Evidently, then, there were in the Church at Jerusalem three distinct Orders or ranks,—apostles, presbyters, and deacons. Who the presbyters were, or how appointed, or to what office, we have yet to inquire.

Passing on, then, to a subsequent period of the Apostolical history, we find the Apostles "*ordaining* presbyters in every Church," (Acts xiv. 23,) and St. Paul, upon passing on one occasion near Ephesus, where a Church had been planted, sends for the "presbyters of the Church," and gives them this exhortation, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (or *bishops*, "*ἐπισκόπους*), to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." (Acts xx. 17, 28.) In what the office of these presbyters, then, consisted, and how they were appointed, we can have no doubt. And we find from this passage, as well as from others to which we shall allude presently, that they then had the name of *bishops*; and I need



hardly observe, that this in no respect militates against what we are now attempting to prove, because it is not the *name*, but the *thing* for which we contend. They were *overseers* of their particular *flocks*, and so are elsewhere said to *preside* over them, (*προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν*) (see 1 Thess. v. 12, and 1 Tim. v. 17,) a word which is used also by Justin Martyr with reference to the minister who officiated in the public congregation.<sup>1</sup>

But our proof is at present, no doubt, incomplete. Pass we on, therefore, to the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus ; and there, particularly in the former, we shall find clear and distinct evidence of that for which we are inquiring. Timothy was then stationed at Ephesus, where the presbyters or bishops were whom St. Paul had addressed as we have seen above ; and from this Epistle we learn, that besides them (1 Tim. iii. 1 et seq.) there were also *deacons*, (iii. 12 et seq.) respecting whom the Apostle gives certain directions ; and, with the exception of the directions he gave to Timothy himself, *these are the only ecclesiastical Orders or ranks of whom he speaks* ; and to Timothy he gives such directions as these ;—  
 “ *Against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but before two*  
 “ *or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that*  
 “ *others also may fear. I charge thee before God and the*  
 “ *Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe*  
 “ *these things, without preferring one before another ; doing*  
 “ *nothing by partiality. Lay hands suddenly on no man.*”  
 (v. 19—22.) He is to “charge some that they teach no other doctrine” than what the Apostle had taught (i. 3), and the directions of the Apostle as to the character of the presbyters and deacons are given, that he *might know how to act in the Church*. (iii. 15.) Here, then, is clearly one of an Order or rank distinct from that of the presbyters and deacons ; a president or pastor, or, as we *now* call it, bishop of the presbyters and deacons.

In the Epistle to Titus, we read as follows,—“ For this

<sup>1</sup> He calls him *the president* (*ὁ προεστώς*) in passages already cited above from his first Apology.

“cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order  
 “the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in  
 “every city, as I had appointed thee: if any be blameless,  
 “&c.; for a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of  
 “God, &c.” (Tit. i. 5 et seq.) “There are many unruly and  
 “vain talkers . . . whose mouths must be stopped . . .  
 “Wherefore *rebuke them sharply*” (i. 10—13). “A man that  
 is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.”  
 (iii. 10.) Here, then, we find Titus commissioned by the  
 Apostle to perform the same duties at Crete, as Timothy was  
 at Ephesus. And these directions to Timothy and Titus be-  
 come doubly forcible in proof of the point in question, when  
 we compare them with the language of the Apostle to Churches  
 where no such president appears to have been appointed; as,  
 for instance, the Corinthian, to which the Apostle says,—“the  
 rest will I set in order when I come.” (1 Cor. xi. 34.) And,  
 as it respects the important point of *ordination*, let us observe,  
 that the language used in these Epistles shows, that, ordinarily,  
 it belonged exclusively to them to ordain; not merely from the  
 charge of ordination being expressly delivered to them alone,  
 but from the power given them over the presbyters, which  
 renders it absurd to suppose that the presbyters there might  
 of themselves appoint others to be presbyters, and thus have  
 the power of introducing any teachers they pleased into the  
 Church.

By what particular name these presidents of the Churches  
 were then known, is a question of comparatively little moment.  
 There is some evidence, however, in favour of their having had  
 the title of *Apostles*. That several besides the twelve had this  
 title, is clear;<sup>1</sup> and the phrase “Apostles of the Churches,”  
 (ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν) occurs in 2 Cor. viii. 23, and not  
 improbably designated those who had been appointed, by those  
 Apostles who bore the immediate commission of our Lord, to  
 have the chief superintendence of those Churches; and thus  
 St. Paul, when writing to the Philippians, calls Epaphroditus

<sup>1</sup> See Rom. xvi. 7, &c.

*their Apostle.*<sup>1</sup> We may observe, therefore, that in this Epistle to the Philippians, we have another remarkable testimony to the position, that the clergy then consisted of three Orders corresponding to those which have been received in all Episcopal Churches. For, this epistle is addressed by the Apostle to the saints at Philippi, "*with the bishops and deacons,*" (Phil. i. 1,) which shows that these were the only Orders of ministers then present at Philippi; to whom, however, we are to add Epaphroditus, *their Apostle*, who was then with St. Paul, having been sent to him by the Church at Philippi, (Phil. iv. 18,) and who returned to Philippi with St. Paul's letter. (ii. 25, et seq. &c.) In the Book of Revelation we find them spoken of (as we shall see presently) under the name of the *angel* of the Church over which they presided, a name very similar in meaning to that of Apostle; and in the writings immediately succeeding the Apostolical times, we find such persons known by the name of *bishops* of the Churches.

But all with which we are here concerned is, *the office itself*,—and for that, as we have seen, we have, in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, clear and distinct proof.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 25. ἡμῶν ἀπόστολον. Our translators have rendered it *messenger*, as in 2 Cor. viii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoret states, as a known fact, that "they formerly called the same persons presbyters and bishops; and *those that are now called bishops, they named Apostles*; but afterwards they left the name of the Apostleship to those that were truly Apostles; and gave the name of the episcopate to those who were before called Apostles." Τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους· τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὄνομα τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἀποστόλοις κατέλιπον· τὴν δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν. THEODORET. In Ep. 1. ad Tim. iii. 1. Op. ed. Schulz. 1769. tom. iii. p. 652. It appears to me not improbable, that the name Apostle was used only to denote those whom the Apostles themselves had appointed to the presidency of the Churches; (and was not perhaps latterly, i.e. in the latter part of St. John's life, applied even to these;) and that those who succeeded them, not having had Apostolic appointment to their office, contented themselves with a name which had been before either common to all presbyters, or at least applicable to presbyters who had nothing more than an ordinary pastoral charge. The name Apostle, we may observe, is given by Clem. Alex. to Clement of Rome, when quoting his first Epistle to the Corinthians, ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης. Strom. lib. iv. § 17. Op. ed. Potter. p. 609. (Sylb. p. 516.)

And besides these three Orders, *we read of no others being appointed by the Apostles*; for the other names we meet with, as *prophet*, &c., are not descriptive of persons set apart by the Apostles to fulfil certain duties, but of those who had received an extraordinary gift of the Holy Spirit, such as the name imported. The standing ministry of the Church consisted of three Orders only; but, in the infancy of the Church, it pleased God to qualify many others in a peculiar way to take a part in the work of spiritual instruction. And this may, in a great measure, account for the apparent exercise of parts of the ministerial office by those who did not belong to any of the three Orders at this period; and should make others who are apt to plead their example, somewhat more cautious of an unnecessary interference with the ministerial function.

Having, then, thus found in *Scripture* distinct evidence for the Apostolical institution of these three Orders in the ministry, we appeal further to the *practice* of the earliest times of the Church, as testified to us by those who were *eye-witnesses* of it, to give to any who may be unconvinced by the evidence of Scripture, (and however *clear* and *sufficient* it may be, this *may* happen,) additional proof that our views of the matter are correct. But it is upon Scripture that we rely for the proof of the Apostolicity of these three Orders. We have no other testimony to the Apostolicity of such matters sufficient to establish a claim upon us for their observance, as our opponents are themselves forced practically to admit (as we have already seen<sup>1</sup>) in some points of a similar nature, which they have themselves abandoned.

(8) The *eighth* point for our consideration is one which has been, in a measure, anticipated in the last; but demands, from its importance, a separate notice, namely,—*the government of the Church by Bishops*.

We have already observed, that originally the name *bishop* was given to the *presbyters*. But the point in question is not the *name* but the *thing*; i. e., Whether there is Scriptural proof, that there were, in the Churches of the Apostolical

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. v. § 8. vol. i. pp. 386—401.



times, besides the presbyters and deacons, any presidents or superintendents of such Churches, corresponding to what we now call bishops, by whatever name they might then be known; whether *Apostles*, *angels*, or any other title.

The answer to this question, then, may be found under our last head; for we have there shown, that Scripture distinctly informs us, that Timothy and Titus were such presidents of the Churches of Ephesus and Crete respectively.

And I would here also point the reader's attention to the fact, that the Scripture evidence on this point is so clear, that it has been freely admitted by many of the best divines of the Foreign Reformed Churches; a fact which all who wish well to episcopacy, should duly consider before they attempt to deprive their cause of its best support. Thus, Abr. Scultetus, commenting on the Epistle to Titus, observes, that episcopacy is of divine right because the Apostles set bishops over presbyters;<sup>1</sup> and he acknowledges, that this Epistle shows, that the power of ordination and the direction of ecclesiastical matters, rests in them.<sup>2</sup> "We learn hence," says Calvin on Tit. i. 5, "that there was not then an equality among the ministers of the Church, but that one was with authority placed over others."<sup>3</sup> That we have Scripture authority for episcopacy, is also clearly admitted by Luther;<sup>4</sup> and Isaac Casaubon says, "Bishops, priests, and deacons are founded upon clear testimonies of Scripture." (*Apertis Scripturæ testimoniis.*)<sup>5</sup>

Further; there is also another portion of Scripture affording equally strong evidence for the point we are now considering, namely, our Lord's Epistles to the seven Churches of Asia in the Book of Revelation, which are addressed to the *angels* of those Churches. True, indeed, it is, that attempts

<sup>1</sup> See Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines that Episcopacy is according to the Word of God, &c. Oxf. 1644. 4to. pp. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> In Tit. c. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Confessions, &c. p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> "Si Pontifices et Episcopi desinant Evangelium persequi, &c. . . . parebimus libenter ipsorum autoritati, *quam verbo divino videmus communitam.*" LUTH. in Hos. ii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> CASAUBON. Exercit. See "Confessions," &c. p. 7.

have been made to explain away this evidence, by interpreting the word "angel" as applying to either the whole Church, or the whole body of pastors in it; or, in short, anything rather than that which it so obviously denotes, namely, some one individual recognised as chief or president of the Church. It is not, surely, without reason, that it may be said *obviously* to denote it, when we find it confessed by so many, whose prejudices would have favoured another interpretation. It is thus interpreted by, among others, Diodati, Theodore Beza, Bullinger, Marlorate, Gualther, Piscator, Paræus, and Peter Martyr.<sup>1</sup> And Scultetus says, "All the most learned interpreters, by the angels of the seven churches, understand the bishops of the seven Churches, *nor can it be otherwise interpreted without violence to the text.*"<sup>2</sup> And Cartwright says,— "The letters written to the Churches were therefore directed to the angel, because he is the meetest man by office by whom the Church may understand the tenor of the letter."<sup>3</sup> Our last witness shall be Grotius, who says,— "Our fourth proposition is this, that this episcopacy is approved by Divine law; or as Bucer says, it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost that one among the presbyters should be charged with a peculiar care. The Divine Apocalypse affords an irrefragable argument for this assertion, for Christ himself commands that a letter should be sent unto the seven angels of the Asian Churches. They who by angels understand the Churches themselves, manifestly contradict the Holy Scriptures, for 'the candlesticks are the Churches,' Christ says, 'and the stars are the angels of the seven Churches.' It is surprising how far men are carried away by the love of contradicting, when they dare to confound things so clearly distinguished by the Holy Spirit. We do not deny, that the name angel may, in a general sense, be

<sup>1</sup> See "Confessions and Proofs," &c. pp. 45—47.

<sup>2</sup> "Doctissimi quique interpretes per septem Ecclesiarum angelos interpretantur septem Ecclesiarum episcopos, neque enim aliter possunt, vim nisi facere textui velint." ABR. SCULT. Obs. in Tit. In "Confessions," &c. p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> CARTWRIGHT On the Rhem. Test. on Apoc. ii. See "Confessions," &c. p. 47.

“ applied to every pastor, but here it is manifest, that it is  
 “ used for one in each Church. Was there, then, only one  
 “ pastor in each city? By no means. For from the times of  
 “ St. Paul there were several presbyters appointed at Ephesus  
 “ to feed the Church of God. Why, then, are the letters sent  
 “ to one in each Church, if no one had a certain peculiar and  
 “ eminent function?”<sup>1</sup>

In this portion of Scripture, then, we have a distinct recognition on the part of our Lord himself of the office which we now call the *episcopal* office; and beyond the mere recognition of such presidents of the Churches by the epistles being addressed to them, we must observe that they are described as *stars* held in his right hand. (Rev. i. 16, 20.)

True, the Churches themselves are so far addressed in these Letters through their presidents, that we cannot draw any decisive argument from them as to the power possessed by these officers, but that they had a general power of superintendence and control cannot of course be questioned, because for no other purpose could they be made presidents of the Churches. But as it respects the duties and powers of such officers, we have sufficient information in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus.

Let me remind the Tractators of what Hooker has said on this point. “ To the Apostles in the beginning, and to the  
 “ bishops always since, we find *plainly both in Scripture* and in  
 “ all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the word and  
 “ sacraments have been subordinate;”<sup>2</sup> and respecting our Church polity generally, he hesitates not to say against the Nonconformists, “ If we did seek to maintain that which most  
 “ advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the  
 “ strongest against them, were to hold, even as they do, that in  
 “ Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of  
 “ Church polity which God hath instituted, and which for that  
 “ very cause belongeth to all Churches to all times.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> GROTIUS. De imper. Summ. Pot. circa sacra, c. 11. pp. 316, 17. ed. Paris. 1647. 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. iii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. iii. 10. *fn.* The reason why he does not press this argument is, he

I must add further, however, that when we find that the presbyters were, at Jerusalem, joined with even the Apostles themselves in the Conciliar meetings by which the weightier matters relating to the Church were determined, and that the decrees issued were spoken of as the decrees of "the Apostles and presbyters," (Acts xv. 6. xvi. 4. xxi. 18, 25,) we seem to have in this very sufficient Scripture testimony to the doctrine, abundantly recognised in Primitive Antiquity, and by the constitution of the Diocesan and Provincial Synods in our own Church, that in such matters the bishops or presidents of the various Churches were not to act alone, but with the advice and consent of the presbytery of their Church. "As the "presbyters," says Dean Field, "may do nothing without the "bishop, so he may do nothing in matters of greatest moment "and consequence without their presence and advice. Where- "upon the Council of Carthage (Conc. iv. Can. 23,) voideth "all sentences of bishops which the presence of their clergy "confirmeth not."<sup>1</sup> "With the bishop," says Archbishop Usher, speaking of the Primitive Church, "who was the chief "president, (and therefore stiled by Tertullian, in another "place, De bapt. c. 17. *Summus Sacerdos*, for distinction sake,) "the rest of the dispensers of the word and sacraments joined "in the common government of the Church, and therefore "where, in matters of ecclesiastical judicature, Cornelius, "bishop of Rome, used the received form of *gathering together "the presbytery*, (Cornel. ap. Cypr. ep. 46,) of what persons "that did consist Cyprian sufficiently declareth, when he "wisheth him to read his Letters 'to the flourishing clergy "which there did preside, or rule, with him,' (Cyprian. ep. 55, "ad Cornel.); the presence of the clergy being thought to be "so requisite in matters of episcopal audience, that in the "fourth Council of Carthage it was concluded, 'That the "bishop might hear no man's cause without the presence of "the clergy, and that otherwise the bishop's sentence should

tells us, because, in such points, laws ordained by God himself, and found in Scripture, are mutable.

<sup>1</sup> FIELD, Of the Church, bk. v. c. 27.



“ be void, unless it were confirmed by the presence of the  
 “ clergy, (Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 23,) which we find also to be  
 “ inserted into the canons of Egbert, (Excerpt. Egbert. c. 43,)  
 “ who was Archbishop of York in the Saxon times, and after-  
 “ wards into the body of the Canon law itself. (15. q. 7. cap.  
 “ *Nullus.*)”<sup>1</sup> Nay, even with respect to ordination, an act  
 which peculiarly belongs to the office of bishop, as appears by  
 the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, it is *in confesso* that some  
 presbyters ought to join with the bishop in the act of imposi-  
 tion of hands; not, perhaps, as sharing in the very act  
 itself of ordination, but as signifying their assent to the act  
 performed by the bishop. All which shows, that the govern-  
 ment by bishops is not of a strictly monarchical, but of a mixed  
 and limited nature. Not but what their sentence, when  
 accordant with the recognised laws of the Church, may be  
 valid and *sufficient* in the case of *individuals*, but in the pro-  
 mulgation of laws for the observance of their Church, it will, I  
 think, be found, that the best testimony is in favour of the  
 doctrine, that they are in such matters to act, not *ex suo motu*  
 alone, but with the advice and consent of the presbytery of  
 their Church. This is not, however, the place to enlarge upon  
 this topic, and therefore I will only add here, as a remark  
 pertinent to our present subject, that upon this further question  
 as to the kind and amount of power confided to bishops,  
 Scripture is, as much as on the main question, our only certain  
 guide; for the moment we get beyond the powers clearly con-  
 ceded to Timothy and Titus, that moment we find Antiquity  
 itself divided in opinion.

Upon this point, then, of episcopal government, we con-

<sup>1</sup> The Reduction of Episcopacy, &c. ed. by Dr. Bernard, 1656. 8vo. pp. 4, 5.  
 On this subject see also Bingham's Antiq. ii. 19. §§ 7. 8. It must be remem-  
 bered that we are here speaking of the Primitive Church. Circumstances  
 may, as in our own Church, have placed a greater distinction between a  
 bishop and a presbyter than what is here recognised, and the episcopate be  
 graced, through the favour of Christian Powers, by a pre-eminence and autho-  
 rity in the State which have materially altered the relative positions of a  
 bishop and a presbyter of a Church in many respects, but we are here speaking  
 of the constitution of the Church itself.

clude with the same remark as in the last case, that, having found it clearly and distinctly recognised in Scripture as of Apostolic institution, we refer to the *practice* of the infant Church, as testified by *eye-witnesses* of it, to confirm the correctness of our interpretation of the (as it appears to us) *plain* testimony of Scripture, and to show also (if any still doubt its Apostolic origin) how agreeable such a mode of church-government was to the views of the earliest Christians; and we might certainly adduce a mass of evidence sufficient, it might be supposed, to convince the most incredulous and reluctant reader. There are, indeed, some among the Patristical testimonies to this point, which afford peculiarly strong evidence on the subject; as, for instance, the testimony of Irenæus to the appointment of Polycarp to be Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles;<sup>1</sup> a matter of fact coming under his own observation, in which his testimony is entitled to a very different degree of estimation from that which is due to his statement of doctrine orally delivered by the Apostle, as our opponents will themselves confess, when they recollect his statements of Apostolical teaching respecting the millennium.

I conclude, therefore, that we have Scripture-proof, confirmed by the testimony of the Primitive Church, that it was an Apostolical institution, that the presbyters and deacons of each city or district, with the congregations belonging to them, (such districts being larger or smaller according to circumstances,) should have a president or bishop placed over them to superintend the affairs of that Church, and ordain ministers as their circumstances might require.

(9) The *ninth* and last point for our consideration, is that of the *Apostolical Succession*.

On this point we must enter somewhat more fully, as under these words different doctrines may be maintained.

The doctrine of the Succession, as held by our Church, may be summed up in these two points, (1) that as the power of ordination and general superintendence of the Church, including the clergy, was committed by the Apostles to the

<sup>1</sup> IREN Adv. hæc. lib. 3. c. 3. Compare his Ep. ad Florin.

presidents of the Churches, such as Timothy and Titus, only, and was not entrusted to mere presbyters, so this power could only be properly exercised in any Church by those who succeeded such presidents in their presidency; and that consequently all ordinations not performed by such a prelate of the Church are irregular and not according to the rule left with the Church by the Apostles, and therefore, except under circumstances sufficient to justify such irregularity, inadmissible. And (2) that the only regular mode of admission to the episcopal office is by episcopal consecration.

With such a statement, however, of the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession, our opponents would be wholly dissatisfied. Running, as we submit, into the opposite extreme to those we have before mentioned, they hold, (1) That the Episcopal Order is so wholly different from that of the presbyters, that the consecration of bishops by bishops is so essential, by Divine and Apostolical ordinance, to render them capable of performing the duties of the episcopal function as to ordination and church government, and, by consequence, to the succession of Orders of any kind in the Church, that, wherever the chain of successional episcopal consecration is lost, there are none duly qualified to preach the word, or administer the sacraments, and that those who are not in communion with a ministry so constituted form no part of the Church; <sup>1</sup> sacramental grace, or the grace of the sacraments, flowing ordinarily only through the sacraments, and through them only when administered by ministers who have received such episcopal ordination; so that through such ministers only we can maintain communion with Christ.<sup>2</sup> (2) That by such episcopal ordination is conferred in all cases the gift of the Holy Spirit to abide in the person ordained, "as for all other" parts of his office, so for the custody of the good deposit, the

<sup>1</sup> See Tracts 1, 4, 7, 10, 17, 24, 33, 52, 54, 57, 60, 74, and KEBLE'S *Serm. App.* pp. 95, et seq., and his *Pref. to Hooker*, pp. li. et seq.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance, Keble's *Preface to Hooker*, which maintains "the necessity of the Apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace, and to our mystical communion with Christ," (p. lxxvii.); and "the exclusive virtue of the sacraments as ordinary means to their respective graces." (p. lxxxiv.)



“ fundamentals of doctrine and practice,”<sup>1</sup> which is called “ the doctrine of ministerial grace derived by succession from the “ Apostles,”<sup>2</sup> or, as elsewhere, the doctrine of “ *episcopal grace*.”<sup>3</sup>

The consequence of all which is, that a Christian community in which there is no regular Episcopal Apostolical Succession, has no valid ministry or sacraments ; (for though they may exist in name, they are not recognised by God, and no grace is given in them ;) and as the virtue of the sacraments is in ordinary cases held to be the exclusive means to their respective graces, such communities are destitute of any ordinary means of attaining the graces attached to a faithful reception of the sacraments, and are therefore, as it inevitably follows, and as indeed it is expressly maintained, destitute of any communion with Christ, and consequently form no part of the Christian Church.

A sufficiently hard case this, certainly, and not to be assigned to any, without very cogent reasons ; more especially to a large number of Christian communities, irreproachable in the fundamentals of the faith.

Truly our opponents have well learned the lesson which they have been taught by the monk of Lerins ; thinking, I suppose, that one who always guided himself by what “ everybody always everywhere ” had said, must be right, and he certainly felt no hesitation in hurling still more clearly-expressed anathemas. Witness his beautiful and charitable language about the Donatists. “ Who,” saith he, “ is so wicked as to deny, “ that the Donatists, and such other pests, shall burn for ever “ with the devil ? ”<sup>4</sup>

Alas, that such language should ever have been used respecting any who were sound in the fundamentals of the faith, however erroneous they might be in their views of church polity. Our opponents will, perhaps, say, that such language cannot be attributed to them. Perhaps not ; but let them well consider the position in which they place themselves, by

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE's Sermon. App. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> KEBLE's Sermon. App. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> KEBLE's Sermon. pp. 43, 44.

<sup>4</sup> VINCENT. LIRINENS. Commonit. c. 6.



asserting that there are those living in the midst of the Church of Christ on earth, who, though they are orthodox in the fundamentals of the faith, and *may* be in a state of salvation, (for this they seem to allow,) are not within the pale of the visible Church; and thus denying the name of Christians to those whom they believe in their hearts that Christ will accept hereafter.

But, in fact, this notion arises from their doctrine, (which we shall notice presently,) that the ministers of the gospel are sacrificing priests, like the priests of the Old Testament, through whose offering of sacrifice in the Eucharist, the merits of Christ's death are applied to the Church; and that as the tribe of Levi only was selected to offer sacrifice, under the Old Testament, so that such offering, when presented by any other, was an act of profanation, in defiance of God's appointment, so there is a peculiar mode of appointment for the priests of the New Testament, and wherever this is transgressed in the least, there no acceptable sacrifice can be presented; and consequently those who are not in communion with priests so appointed, have none to present the sacrifice for them, and no appointed or ordinary way of obtaining an interest in the sacrifice of Christ.

A notion more completely subversive of the doctrine of the gospel of Christ, could hardly be conceived; but I will not here enlarge upon it, because it will shortly come under our notice in a more appropriate place.<sup>1</sup>

Reverting, then, to our statement of what we conceive to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the point now under consideration, I would observe, that, as far as that statement goes, I have as little doubt of the orthodoxy of the doctrine there delivered, as my opponents can have; but, as it respects the Scriptural proof of it, I must draw a distinction

<sup>1</sup> I cannot, therefore, understand, how Dr. Pusey can give the extracts he has quoted in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford (pp. 163—8) from Abp. Bramhall, as coinciding with the views of the authors of the Tracts for the Times. Those passages are written upon very different principles from those which the "Tracts" inculcate, as any reader who will take the trouble to ascertain the *system* on both sides, will at once see.

between the two points of which it consists. The former appears to me to have been fully proved by the Scriptures already adduced on the two last articles, to which, therefore, I refer the reader; and this embraces the doctrine of a *ministerial* Apostolical Succession; that is, that our Lord intended that there should be a succession of pastors in his Church, to the end of time; (Eph. iv. 10, 11, &c.) that he appointed the first, and intended that, under all ordinary circumstances, all who followed them should receive their commission from them or their successors;<sup>1</sup> for we find the Apostles not only ordaining others for the work of the ministry, but directing those who had charge of a Church to "commit" what they had learned of the Apostles "to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also." (2 Tim. ii. 2.) But I admit, that, for the *latter* point, there is not any Scripture proof; and we shall find here, as in other cases, that *as the proof is not to be found in Scripture, so Antiquity, also, is divided with respect to it*; and, moreover, that though it is the doctrine of our Church, yet that it is held by her with an allowance for those who may differ from her on the point, and not as if the observance of it was requisite by divine command, and essential to the validity of all ordinations; though, for the preservation of the full *ecclesiastical* regularity of her own Orders, she has, *since the Restoration*, made it essential to the ministers of her own communion.

I do not mean, by this, that Scripture will enable us only to prove the apostolicity of a *mere* ministerial Succession; because, as I have already shown, it proves that the office of a bishop or president in each Church, for the purpose of ordination and general church-government, was of Apostolical institution; but that it does not show, that episcopal consecration is a *sine qua non* to the valid exercise of the duties of the presidential or episcopal office. In other words, if in any Church a presbyter be appointed by his co-presbyters to be the bishop, or superintendent, or president of that Church, and perform the

<sup>1</sup> In such observations, therefore, as occur in Tract 4. p. 7, and in Tract 17, I fully concur.

usual duties of the episcopal function, we cannot prove either by Scripture, or by the consent of the Apostolically-primitive Church, that his acts are *by Apostolical ordinance* invalid. That they are invalid by early ecclesiastical ordinance, I readily admit; just as by the Canons of Nice, and other Councils, the acts of bishops consecrated without the consent of the Metropolitan, or under other circumstances of what was then considered irregularity, might be invalid; and, moreover, that nothing but very weighty considerations form a sufficient justification for a departure from those rules of church-government which have been received for centuries in the Universal Church. But there is a wide distinction between the two cases.

That the Apostles appointed the first bishops in most of the principal Churches of the Primitive Church, there can be little doubt; but the question here is, was it a *sine qua non* to the successors of such bishops, that they should receive episcopal consecration; or was it sufficient, that a presbyter should be appointed by consent in each Church, out of their own body, to the vacant office? although, as the Church became more settled, it was held to be convenient and befitting, that the person so appointed should always receive episcopal consecration; and therefore it was ordained, that such episcopal consecration should be held to be necessary to the valid performance of the duties of the office.<sup>1</sup>

In a word, supposing the Apostles to have appointed the first bishops in twelve Churches, I want to know where we are informed, that when the bishop of one of them died, the

<sup>1</sup> And for the sake of greater solemnity, it was ordered at an early period of the Church that such consecration should be performed by *three* bishops. But this is certainly a mere ecclesiastical ordinance, and not necessary. See JEWEL'S Def. of Apol. Pt. 2. c. 5. div. 1. and MASON'S Vind. &c., and BINGHAM'S Christian Antiq. ii. 11. §§ 5, 6., and CAVE'S Life of GREGORY THAUMAT. § 6., and Bishop LUCY'S Treatise on the nature of a minister, pp. 246, et seq. And EUSEBIUS says, Κλήμης Εὐαρέστῳ παραδούς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τὸν βίον. Eccl. Hist. iii. 34. And here I would advise our opponents to take heed how they make the observance of such ecclesiastical ordinances essential, for they will thus leave no Succession in existence in any Church in the present day.



Church of the deceased bishop depended upon the will and pleasure of the remaining eleven bishops for a president, and could not appoint and create, to all intents and purposes, its own president out of its own body of presbyters.

It may be said, that none of the presbyters had received, in his ordination, the power to confer Orders; which, to a certain extent, is true; because his ordination did not give him that *office* in the Church, to which the power of giving Orders was reserved; but that it did not give him power to do all such acts, when appointed to an office in which he might lawfully perform them, does not appear. A presbyter curate did not receive, in his ordination, power to act as the rector of the Church where he is curate; but it does not follow, that when he is lawfully appointed rector, he needs another ordination to perform the duties of that office. The question is, not whether every presbyter may ordain, but whether a presbyter, *placed in a particular situation in the Church of which he is a presbyter*, may ordain.

Putting aside for a moment the question of ordination, should we not grant, that, as it respects the supervision of the clergy and the Church, the Council of Presbyters would have power to appoint one of their number to such an office? The case seems only analogous to that of bishops and archbishops; where, by human ordinance, for the benefit of the Church, a superiority is granted to archbishops over bishops. But no such power was given to a presbyter at his ordination. Consequently there is a power which can be legitimately conferred by the presbytery of a Church; and then there remains only the question, whether the power of ordination may be included in the grant so made. And it must be remembered, that, in such a case, a bishop so appointed, undertakes to confer nothing but what he has himself received, i. e. the full sacerdotal character and office. And if it be further objected, that he ought not only to have received this from the Apostles, but also the power to confer it, I reply, that this seems to prove too much; for if presbyters cannot, *on this account*, under any circumstances ordain presbyters, neither



can bishops ordain bishops ; for though in their consecration power is given them to ordain, there is no notice of any power to confer upon others the power of ordination. And Jerome, speaking on a similar subject, that is, as to the power of baptizing, observes, that the reason why neither the presbyter nor deacon may baptize, without the bishop's leave, is only the preservation of ecclesiastical order ; for that, as to baptizing, it was frequently, if necessity required it, lawful for laymen to baptize ; *for, what any one has received, that he can also give.*<sup>1</sup>

The question, then, recurs, whether *originally* and *essentially* the Church of the deceased bishop had not as much right to confer the power of ordination, for its own body, upon one of its presbyters, as the remaining eleven bishops had to interfere in the concerns of another Church, and consecrate whom they pleased (for it would come to that) as its president, and give to him the power of ordination. And before we can assert this, we must first prove, that the Apostles not only appointed bishops in these Churches, but that those bishops had power in other Churches also ; and further, not only that the Apostles gave them the power of conferring ordination, but also the power of giving to others the power of conferring it, and limited it to them ; which, I suspect, will be a hard task. Our opponents have forgotten this, when they point us so triumphantly to the lists in Irenæus and elsewhere, of the succession of bishops in various Apostolical Churches, from the time of the Apostles. This is less than half of what they have got to prove ; and shows how little they have acquainted themselves with the real difficulties of the subject.

This is a question which, if it had never been mooted, and had no important practical bearings, I would not have brought under discussion ; but, in the present state of the Church, it is one which is forced upon our attention. When we find many important ecclesiastical communities answering it in the negative, we are bound seriously to consider it.

<sup>1</sup> Quod [i. e. jus baptizandi] frequenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis. *Ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest.* HIERON. Adv. Lucifer. § 9. Op. tom. ii. col. 182. ed. Vallars. 1766. See also TERTULL. De bapt. c. 18.

That episcopal consecration was *generally* appointed in very early times to be, as it were, the seal to the episcopal appointment, can hardly, I think, be questioned by any one who is at all versed in the records of the Primitive Church; but, nevertheless, there are testimonies occurring which seem to show, not merely that it was not absolutely essential, but that it was not universally practised.

For instance, the testimony of Eutychius of Alexandria is plain that such was not the case originally at Alexandria. His words are these. After mentioning that Mark the Evangelist went and preached at Alexandria, and appointed Hananias the first patriarch there, he adds, "Moreover he appointed twelve presbyters with Hananias, who were to remain with the Patriarch, so that when the Patriarchate was vacant, they might elect one of the twelve presbyters, upon whose head the other eleven might place their hands and bless him [or, invoke a blessing upon him,] and create him Patriarch, and then choose some excellent man, and appoint him presbyter with themselves in the place of him who was thus made Patriarch, that thus there might always be twelve. Nor did this custom respecting the presbyters, namely, that they should create their Patriarchs from the twelve presbyters, cease at Alexandria until the times of Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was of the number of the 318 [bishops at Nice]. But he forbade the presbyters to create the Patriarch for the future, and decreed that when the Patriarch was dead, the bishops should meet together and ordain the Patriarch. Moreover he decreed, that on a vacancy of the Patriarchate they should elect, either from any country, or from those twelve presbyters, or others, as circumstances might prescribe, some excellent man and create him Patriarch. And thus that antient custom by which the Patriarch used to be created by the presbyters disappeared, and in its place succeeded the ordinance for the creation of the Patriarch by the bishops."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is Selden's translation of the passage from the Arabic:—  
"Constituit item Marcus Evangelista duodecim Presbyteros cum Hanania, qui

I have given this passage in full, because it has been sometimes replied, that it referred only to the *election* of the Patriarch, and that we must suppose that he was afterwards consecrated to his office by bishops. But it is evident to any one who takes the whole passage together, that such an explanation is altogether inadmissible; and, moreover, the very same word (which, following Selden, I have translated *created*) is used with respect to the act of the presbyters, as is afterwards used with respect to the act of the bishops in the appointment.<sup>1</sup>

I am quite aware, that very considerable learning has been employed in the attempt to explain away this passage, and the reader who wishes to see how a plain statement may thus be darkened, may refer to the works mentioned below.<sup>2</sup> On one of those works, however, written by the learned Renaudot, I must offer a remark. Renaudot admits, that George Elinacinus in the first part of his *Annals* gives the same account of the matter as Eutychius.<sup>3</sup> And though he quarrels with both of them for making such a statement, which shows what he thought was the plain meaning of it, he endeavours to show, that Eutychius was only speaking of the election, not of the ordination, of the Patriarch, and accordingly (following

nempe manerent cum Patriarcha, adeo ut, cum vacaret Patriarchatus, eligerent unum e duodecim Presbyteris cujus capiti reliqui undecim manus imponerent, eumque benedicerent, et Patriarcham eum crearent, et dein virum aliquem insignem eligerent, eumque Presbyterum secum constituerent loco ejus qui sic factus est Patriarcha, ut ita semper extarent duodecim. Neque desiit Alexandriæ institutum hoc de Presbyteris, ut scilicet Patriarchas crearent ex Presbyteris duodecim, usque ad tempora Alexandri Patriarchæ Alexandrini, qui fuit ex numero illo cccxviii. Is autem vetuit, ne deinceps Patriarcham Presbyteri crearent. Et decrevit, ut, mortuo Patriarcha, convenirent Episcopi qui Patriarcham ordinarent. Decrevit item, ut, vacante Patriarchatu, eligerent sive ex quacunque regione, sive ex duodecim illis Presbyteris, sive aliis, ut res ferebat, virum aliquem eximium, eumque Patriarcham crearent. Atque ita evanuit institutum illud antiquius, quo creari solitus a Presbyteris Patriarcha, et successit in locum ejus decretum de Patriarcha ab Episcopis creando." EUTYCH. PATR. ALEX. Ecclesiæ suæ orig. Ed. J. Selden. Lond. 1642. 4to. pp. 29—31.

<sup>1</sup> See Selden's note in his *Commentary on Eutych.* p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> See ABR. ECHELL. *Eutychius Vindicatus*, and RENAUDOT. *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 10. This portion of Elinacinus is yet, I believe, unpublished.



Echellensis) states, that the Arabic word which Selden has translated *laid hands on*, refers only to the holding up of the hand at the election, and that *had Selden understood Arabic, he could not have thus translated it*. This is in p. 10. At p. 55, stumbling upon a passage from Severus, where the former translation suited his views, or was so evidently the sense of the passage that he could not otherwise translate it, he blames Echellensis and Morinus for translating it in the latter way, and affirms it to mean ordination by imposition of hands. This surely betrays rather a bad cause; and in fact the meaning of the passage does not wholly depend upon that one word. The word *created* is still more decisive. Moreover, this passage of Severus is worth noticing as giving a very similar account of the appointment of *one* of the Patriarchs to that of Eutychius. He says, according to Renaudot himself, that, after the death of Theonas, “the priests and people were collected together at Alexandria, and laid their hands upon Peter, his son in the faith and disciple, a priest, and placed him in the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria, according to the command of Theonas, in the tenth year of the Emperor Diocletian.”<sup>1</sup> Here Renaudot contends, that the word refers to imposition of hands, but that because *the people* are mentioned with the priests, who never shared in such an office, therefore the words, *they laid their hands on him*, must mean, *hands were laid upon him*,<sup>2</sup> and the presence of bishops to do this is most conveniently taken for granted, though no notice is given of their presence. I leave this to the common sense of the reader.

But, whether the statement in this passage as to the presbyters laying their hands on the bishop elect is correct or not, and whether it is or is not a mistranslation of Selden, I shall not stop to inquire. The sole object for which I quote the passage is, to show, that, according to Eutychius, the person

<sup>1</sup> “Congregatos fuisse Alexandriæ sacerdotes et plebem, *manusque imposuisse* super Petrum, filium ejus spiritualement et discipulum, sacerdotem, eumque collocasse in solio Patriarchali Alexandrino juxta Theonæ mandatum, anno decimo Diocletiani Imperatoris.” SEVERUS apud RENAUD. Hist. Patr. Alex. p. 54. The extract is from a MS. work of Severus, De vit. et reb. gest. Patr. Alex.

<sup>2</sup> “Imposuerunt illi manus, idem esse ac, impositæ sunt illi manus.” p. 55,



appointed to the Episcopal office at Alexandria held and executed the duties of the office without any episcopal consecration.

And this statement of Eutychius is clearly and expressly supported by the testimony of Jerome, in a passage where he plainly maintains the doctrine, that such an appointment is sufficient to constitute a presbyter a bishop, and adduces this example in proof of it. After having quoted several passages of Scripture to show that a presbyter and a bishop are, as to the character received by Ordination, the same,<sup>1</sup> he adds, "But that, afterwards, one was chosen to be over the rest, was done to prevent schism, lest each one drawing the Church of Christ after him should break it up. For at Alexandria, also, from Mark the Evangelist to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters always called one elected from among themselves, and placed in a higher rank, their bishop; just as an army may constitute its general, or deacons may elect one of themselves, whom they know to be diligent, and call him archdeacon. For what does a bishop do, with the exception of Ordination, which a presbyter may not do?"<sup>2</sup>

This passage, be it observed, does not take away from the episcopate its peculiar rights, but distinctly admits, that the power of Ordination belongs properly to that office, and that its possessor has a higher rank than the presbyter; but at the same time it clearly maintains, that, as it respects the ministerial character, there is no difference between a presbyter and a bishop, the difference being only to be found in the ecclesiastical distribution of *the duties to be performed by them*; and what is still more to our purpose, that *appointment to the episcopal office by the presbyters of a Church is sufficient* (as

<sup>1</sup> "Eundem esse episcopum atque presbyterum."

<sup>2</sup> "Quod autem postea unus electus est qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est; ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi eligant de se quem indurium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent. Quid enim facit, excepta Ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?"  
HIERON. Ep. ad Evang. Ep. 146. Op. ed. Vallars. Ven. 1766. tom. i. col. 1082.

far as ESSENTIALS are concerned) *to entitle a presbyter to perform the duties of the episcopal function.*

Now these two positions are perfectly consistent with each other. We may maintain fully even the apostolicity of the episcopal form of church-government, and yet deny, that episcopal consecration is a *sine qua non* to the performance of the duties of the bishop or president of a Church. And if we bear this in mind, we shall find that Jerome, notwithstanding the charges of self-contradiction that have been brought against him, is perfectly consistent in what he has written on this subject. The great point with Jerome manifestly is, that such a president of the Church should be appointed, and such powers conceded to him; and, in his view, when that is done, the essentials are safe.<sup>1</sup>

And it is most important to observe, that even the Romanist Morinus, one of the most learned divines of the Church of Rome, fully admits, and even maintains by the citation of various testimonies, that this was for a long period the custom at Alexandria, referring for proof particularly to the passage of Jerome, just cited, and vindicating the meaning I have affixed to it against objections.<sup>2</sup> He finds fault, indeed, with the passage of Eutychius on other grounds,<sup>3</sup> but with that I have no concern. I adduce it simply to show, that, in the case to which it refers, episcopal consecration was not considered necessary to constitute a presbyter a bishop. Now, on this point Morinus himself speaks thus:—

“ St. Jerome testifies, that, at Alexandria, from the time of  
 “ Mark the Evangelist to Dionysius, that is, for the space of  
 “ nearly two hundred years, the Bishops were inaugurated  
 “ without any consecration, but the Presbyters of Alexandria,  
 “ when their Bishop was dead, elected one of their own Order,  
 “ and belonging to their own Church, and placed him upon  
 “ the higher throne and called him Bishop. By which example

<sup>1</sup> See his tract, Adv. Lucifer. § 9. tom. ii. col. 182.

<sup>2</sup> MORIN. De Sacris Ordinationibus. Par. iii. Exerc. 3. c. 2. §§ 4 et seq. ed. Antw. 1695. pt. iii. pp. 30—32.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ib. Exerc. 7. c. 7. §§ 1 et seq. ib. p. 199 et seq.

“truly it most clearly appears, that neither Jerome nor the Alexandrines recognised that character by which a Bishop is said to be above a Presbyter, since no prayer, no ceremony, no form of words, was used over the Presbyter elected. You will say, he mentions none, but it cannot be hence concluded that there was none, since it is certain that authors do not always relate everything that takes place. This indeed is true, but the scope and words of St. Jerome do not admit of this objection. For he contends, that a Presbyter is the same as a Bishop, and proves this from the peculiar and unusual custom of the Alexandrines, who make use of no consecration, no words to consecrate as a Bishop the Presbyter elected by them, but only place him in the throne and call him Bishop.”<sup>1</sup> And he proceeds to adduce other arguments to show that this was the meaning of Jerome’s words, and adds other testimonies to the fact stated.

And again, in the same work, referring to the “Breviarium” of Liberatus, he says, “It clearly follows from it, that for at least two hundred years after Alexander, the Presbyters of Alexandria, not the Bishops, elected the Patriarch; and that neither the Presbyters, nor the Bishops, nor any other persons, laid their hand on the person elected.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Testatur S. Hieronymus, Alexandriae nulla consecratione inauguratos fuisse Episcopos a tempore Marci Evangelistae ad Dionysium, hoc est, annorum prope ducentorum spatio, sed Presbyteros Alexandrinos mortuo Episcopo suo unum ex Ordine et gremio Ecclesiae suae elegisse, thronoque excelsiori collocasse, et Episcopum appellasse. Quo sane exemplo evidentissime constat, nec Hieronymum nec Alexandrinos agnovisse characterem illum quo Episcopus Presbytero praestare dicitur, cum super Presbyterum electum nulla oratio, nulla ceremonia, nulla verborum formula usurpata fuerit. Dices, nullam commemorat, non ideo tamen colligi potest nullam fuisse, cum certum sit autores non omnia quae fiunt, semper referre. Verum equidem est, sed in scopo et verbis S. Hieronymi locum non habet haec exceptio. Contendit enim Presbyterum idem esse cum Episcopo, atque hoc demonstrat ex speciali et extraordinaria Alexandrinorum consuetudine, qui nullam adhibent consecrationem, nulla verba ut consecrent in Episcopum, electum a se Presbyterum, sed tantum in solio collocant, et appellant Episcopum.” MORIN. De Sacr. Ordin. Par. iii. Exerc. 3. c. 2. § 4. ed. Antw. 1695. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> “Ex eo colligitur evidenter, ducentis saltem post Alexandrum annis Presbyteros Alexandrinos, non Episcopos, Patriarcham elegisse: nec Presbyteros, nec Episcopos, nec quosvis alios, manum electo imposuisse.” Id. ib. p. 122.



I will add one more testimony on this matter. The author of the Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, attributed by some to Ambrose, and by others to Hilary the Deacon, says,—“The Apostle calls Timothy, created by him a *presbyter*,<sup>1</sup> a bishop, (for the first presbyters were called bishops,) that, when he departed, *the one that came next might succeed him*. Moreover, in Egypt the presbyters confirm, if a bishop is not present.<sup>2</sup> But, because the presbyters that followed, began to be found unworthy to hold the primacy, the custom was altered, the Council foreseeing that not order but merit ought to make a bishop, and that he should be appointed by the judgment of many priests, lest an unworthy person should rashly usurp the office, and be a scandal to many.”<sup>3</sup>

These passages, then, clearly contradict the notion of our

<sup>1</sup> Timothy is here said, we may observe, to have been ordained a *presbyter*. And I cannot but think that the passage, 1 Tim. iv. 14, is favourable to this view. For, without adopting the translation which some have given of the passage, viz. “with the laying on of hands for the office of a *presbyter*,” if we retain our own version, which appears to me more natural, who or what is “the *presbytery*”? Certainly not consisting altogether of Apostles, though it appears, from 2 Tim. i. 6, that Ordination was received by Timothy partly from St. Paul. But if presbyters joined in that Ordination, it could not be to a higher *sacerdotal* grade or order than that of the *presbyterhood*. Nor is this inconsistent with his being called elsewhere an Apostle, which name might be given him as one appointed to be a superintendent of a Church.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the “*Questiones in Vet. et Nov. Test.*” which have been ascribed to Augustine, but are probably not his, says, “In Alexandria, and through the whole of Egypt, if there is no bishop, a *presbyter consecrates*.” (In Alexandria et per totam Ægyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat *presbyter*.) Where, however, one MS. reads, *confirms* (*consignat*). See AUG. Op. tom. iii. App. col. 93. On this subject the 13th canon of the Council of Ancyra (in the Code of the Universal Church) is also worth notice.

<sup>3</sup> “*Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut, recedente eo, sequens ei succederet. Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus. Sed quia cœperunt sequentes presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente Concilio, ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum.*” Comment. in Eph. iv. 11, 12. Inter Op. Ambros. ed. Ben. tom. ii. app. col. 241, 2. The “*Council*” is perhaps the Council of Nice. See Can. Nic. 4.



opponents as to the *essential* necessity by Apostolical ordinance of the successional episcopal consecration of all bishops.<sup>1</sup>

Before we pass on, it may be well to offer a remark on a point which the passage we have just quoted from Jerome has brought under our notice, the consideration of which may tend to remove a difficulty that might arise on this subject, namely, the parity of the *ministerial* character in presbyters and bishops.

We have a stream of testimonies coming down to us from very early times, that full powers for the performance of every ministerial act required by the duties of any office in the Church are involved in the Orders of a presbyter, and that a presbyter and bishop differ only as to the works of service to be performed, the mere presbyter not being permitted to pass to others the commission which he has received in Ordination, *because* such extension of the power of Ordination would be injurious to the Church; and consequently, that where that difficulty is removed by an appointment to *the episcopal office*, there all difficulty is removed from a presbyter, so appointed, freely passing to others what he has received.

But I will here notice one or two testimonies on this point, in addition to that already pointed out in Jerome.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, then, speaks Chrysostom, on 1 Tim. c. iii.: "Having spoken concerning bishops . . . and passed over the Order of presbyters, he went at once to the deacons. Why? Because there is not much difference between them and bishops. For they also themselves have received the office of teachers and rulers of the Church. And what he has said respecting bishops, that is suitable also to presbyters. For bishops are su-

<sup>1</sup> There are, also, indirect confirmatory proofs. Such, I think, is afforded by the account we have in EUSEBIUS (Eccles. Hist. vi. 29,) of the appointment of Fabianus to the bishopric of Rome; for, the assembly that met to elect a bishop having fixed upon him, *placed him at once on the episcopal throne*, (ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι,) which seems to me irreconcilable with the notion of the essential necessity of episcopal consecration to have entitled him to the episcopal seat, for he was installed in it without any such consecration.

<sup>2</sup> Another similar passage occurs in JEROME, in his Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. c. 1.

“perior in the matter of Ordination only, and in this respect alone seem to excel presbyters.”<sup>1</sup> To the same effect Augustine,—“As it respects names of honour, which the custom of the Church has caused to be observed, the episcopate is greater than the presbyterate.”<sup>2</sup> The author of the “Questions on the Old and New Testament,” also, says,—“What is a bishop but the chief presbyter, or highest priest?”<sup>3</sup> And lastly, the author of the Commentary on 1 Tim., attributed to Ambrose,—“After the bishop the Apostle has subjoined the Ordination [Order] of the deaconship. Why, but that the Ordination [Order] of a bishop and presbyter is one and the same? For each is a priest, but the bishop is chief; so that every bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop; for he is bishop, who is *chief among the presbyters*. Moreover, he intimates that Timothy was *ordained a presbyter, but inasmuch as he had no other above him, he was a bishop*.”<sup>4</sup>

There is also a passage of Irenæus, which though speaking less *directly* on the point in question, bears an indirect testimony remarkably strong. “We ought,” he says, “to obey those *presbyters* who are in the Church, those, I mean, who have succession from the Apostles, as we have shown, who,

<sup>1</sup> Διαλεγόμενος περί ἐπισκόπων . . . καὶ τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τάγμα ἀφείλ, εἰς τοὺς διακόνους μετεπήδησε. Τί δὴ ποτε; ὅτι οὐ πολὺ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἂν περί ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει. Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τούτῳ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. CHRYSOST. in 1 Tim. iii. hom. 11. Op. tom. xi. p. 604.

<sup>2</sup> “Secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major.” AUGUST. Ep. ad Hieron. Ep. 82. (al. 19.) § 33. Op. tom. ii. col. 202.

<sup>3</sup> “Quid est episcopus nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos? ANON. Quæst. in V. et N. Test. q. 101. Inter AUGUST. Op. tom. iii. app. col. 93.

<sup>4</sup> “Post episcopum diaconatus ordinationem subiecit. Quare, nisi quia episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? Uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est; ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non tamen omnis presbyter episcopus; hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est. Denique Timotheum presbyterum ordinatum significat, sed quia ante se alterum non habebat, episcopus erat.” ANON. Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 8. Inter AMBROS. Op. tom. ii. app. col. 295.

“ with the succession of *the episcopate*, have received, according  
 “ to the good pleasure of the Father, the sure gift of truth . .  
 “ . . . But they who are looked upon by many as *presbyters*,  
 “ but serve their own pleasures. . and are elated with pride at  
 “ *their exaltation to the chief seat*. . . shall be reproved by the  
 “ Word . . . From all such it behoves us to stand aloof, and to  
 “ cleave to those who, *as I have said before*, both retain the  
 “ doctrine of the Apostles, and, with THE ORDER OF THE  
 “ PRESBYTERSHIP, [or, as Fevardentius reads, *of a presbyter*,]  
 “ exhibit soundness in word, and a blameless conversation.”<sup>1</sup>

This passage appears to me decisive as to Irenæus’s view of the matter. And we may observe, that elsewhere he calls bishops presbyters.<sup>2</sup>

And although I am not disposed to attribute much weight to the scholastic divines, yet it may be well to point out to the reader, what were the views of the most eminent of those unquestionably learned theologians; and I shall do so, not in my own words, but in those of Morinus. Morinus affirms, that there are *four* views among “ Catholics,” that is, Romanists, on this point; and states, that the one which is “ most common among the antient Scholastics, including the chief of “ them,” is, “ that the Episcopate does not impress a character, “ and is not an Order or Sacrament distinct from the Priest- “ hood; that the Episcopate adds nothing of that kind to “ the Priesthood; but only through consecration something “ sacramental: whatever it possesses of Order properly called, “ in the sense in which seven Orders are spoken of,—what- “ ever it possesses of a Sacrament and a character, it derives “ that from the Priesthood which the bishop must ne- “ cessarily have obtained before the Episcopate was con- “ ferred upon him: but that the Episcopate of itself, means “ nothing else than an office, a dignity, a power, an autho-

<sup>1</sup> IREN. Adv. hæres. lib. iv. c. 26. ed. Mass. (cc. 43, 44. ed. Grab.) I shall give the original when quoting this passage more fully below, about fifty pages from this place.

<sup>2</sup> As in his Epistle to Victor, Bishop of Rome. Οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥς νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν, καὶ Πλόν, Ὑγνόν τε κ. τ. λ. IREN. Op. ed. Mass. pp. 340, 341. (ed. Grab. pp. 465, 6); or in EUSEB. Hist. Eccl. v. 24. ed. Read. p. 248



"rity given to the Priest of much greater extent and dignity, through Episcopal consecration, than that which he had obtained through the character of the Priesthood."<sup>1</sup> And he says in the same place, that this is the view we find everywhere maintained by the chief of the Scholastic divines (*hæc passim Scholasticorum doctorum principes*); referring to Hugo a S. Vict., Peter Lombard, Alexander Hal., Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas and others.

Hence, then, we may observe, that it is not a mere dispute about words, whether bishops are, *properly speaking*, of a different Order from presbyters, because, however much the words order, degree, &c., may often be promiscuously applied, without distinction, to bishops, priests, and deacons, so that we may find them called three Orders, three Degrees, three Offices, &c., yet this is no proof that there is not a sense of the word *Order*, in which it may be justly maintained, that presbyters and bishops are of the same Order, and that the maintenance of such a position is of importance, and has practical consequences connected with it. We do not contend for the *word*, but for what that word implies; and we understand such language to imply precisely what Jerome means, when he says, that a presbyter and a bishop are the same, which he would not have said of a presbyter and a deacon; and the use of such language shows, that there is supposed to be no superiority of character in the bishop above the presbyter as to the ministerial powers possessed independently of the *offices* held by them.

He, then, who holds the two to be of the same Order, can hardly hold, that, by episcopal consecration any new or higher ministerial power is conferred. It is a solemn setting apart

<sup>1</sup> "Prima et antiquis Scholasticis, eorumque Principibus, communissima est, Episcopatum characterem non imprimere, non esse Ordinem sen Sacramentum a Sacerdotio distinctum, Episcopatum nihil illi addere ejusmodi; sed tantum per consecrationem aliquid sacramentale; quidquid Ordinis proprie dicti, qua ratione dicuntur septem Ordines; quidquid Sacramenti et characteris habet, illud a Sacerdotio quo necessario ante Episcopatum inbutus esse debet, haurire. Sed Episcopatum per se nihil aliud dicere quam officium, dignitatem, potestatem, auctoritatem Sacerdoti datam multo ampliorem et augustiorem, per consecrationem Episcopalem, ea quam per Sacerdotii characterem nactus fuerat." MORIN. De Sacr. Ordin. Pt. 3. p. 26. ed. Antw. 1695.



of a presbyter to the fulfilment of certain duties, which, as a mere presbyter, he was not allowed by the Church to perform, but which his appointment to the presidency of his Church gives him a right to perform. And that it is not necessary to suppose, that imposition of hands in the consecration necessarily implies the impression of any new character, or the donation of a higher ministerial grade, is evident from the case of Paul and Barnabas, when certain prophets and teachers of Antioch, by the direction of the Holy Ghost, "*laid their hands on them,*" as a mode of appointment to the office of fulfilling a particular mission, but not surely as giving them any ministerial character or capacity which they did not possess before.<sup>1</sup> And if bishops had been so completely a different Order from presbyters as some would have us suppose, surely the name given to them would not have been one which had before been given to mere presbyters.

Hence, a bishop has not improperly been called *presbyter cum additamento superioritatis quoad regimen ecclesiæ*, a presbyter with an addition of superiority with regard to the government of the Church.

The question, therefore, is, whether, when the ministerial character has been derived from the Apostles, this addition of superiority with respect to the government of a Church may not be conferred by the *consensus ordinis* of that Church.

Granting, then, or rather maintaining, the superiority of the episcopal office in several respects, and that the episcopal office is an apostolical ordinance, and that the bishops of the Churches are the successors of the Apostles in the highest parts of the *ordinary* ecclesiastical functions of the Apostles, that is, Ordination, and supervision of the inferior clergy and the Church,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Acts xiii. 1—3; and xiv. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> "To succeed them is, after them, to have that episcopal kind of power which was first given to them . . . In some things every presbyter, in some things only bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other, are the Apostles' successors . . . the Apostles have now their successors upon earth, their true successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that episcopal function whereby they had power to sit as spiritual ordinary judges, both over laity and over clergy, where Churches Christian were established." HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. vii. 4.

(though, of course, not possessing the same power,) and therefore widely dissenting from the statements of Acrius, (the question being rather concerning the source of their superior power than concerning the superiority itself;) yet nevertheless, if we are forced to admit, (as the passages above quoted seem to me to oblige us to do,) that the appointment of a presbyter to that office by his co-presbyters, is an appointment sufficiently valid to give validity to his acts, or that episcopal consecration is not a *sine qua non* in the case, then we must admit, that the Orders of a Church may be perfectly valid though there are no episcopally-consecrated bishops in it. And hence, the Lutheran Churches at least, whose Superintendents are in fact Bishops under another name, are, clearly, in all material points conformable to the Apostolical model.

And if such is the case, I suppose that few will maintain, that the platform of government in the other Foreign Reformed Churches, though not altogether coming up to the Apostolical model, is sufficiently dissimilar to make their Orders and Ministry invalid. No doubt it may be held, even by those who deny the necessity of episcopally consecrated bishops, that the office of a bishop in a Church is *jure divino* and absolutely binding, and so no Ordination valid but by one holding that office, (as probably some of the Scholastic divines to whom we have just alluded may have supposed,) but if the principle of the parity of Order in Bishops and Presbyters is admitted, then I think the *validity* (whatever we may say of the *regularity*) of the Orders of a Presbyterian Church will in most minds follow as a natural consequence.

And I confess that it appears to me, that this is the only way in which we can fully vindicate the validity of the Orders of those Churches. For, if by Apostolical ordinance all Ordinations performed by any but bishops consecrated by episcopal succession from the Apostles are invalid, then how can we reckon those as validly ordained who, under any circumstances, are not so ordained? If, however, the view we have taken of the matter be correct, then the circumstances of the case rendered their conduct justifiable, and their Orders valid.

And such is the view which, *in substance*, was taken of the matter by many of our best divines, as the extracts which I shall give presently will show. They clearly held the doctrine, that bishops and presbyters are of the same Order, and therefore felt no difficulty in admitting the validity of the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches. Others of our divines seem to have relied more upon the *necessity* of the case as a justification ; but in so doing, did in reality quite as much give up the absolute essentiality both of episcopally-consecrated bishops, and of the episcopal form of government, to constitute a Church. On whatever grounds, however, they might place it, certain it is, that, as a body, they held the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches to be valid, and, therefore, were entirely opposed to the doctrine of our opponents. This I shall now proceed to show, aye, even in the case of those whom our opponents have, I am sorry to say, according to custom, recklessly set down in their list of witnesses for *their* doctrine on this point.

Mr. Keble allows, that "it is notorious," that Bishop Jewel, Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of the controversy with the Puritans was intrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, did not take the line of argument which he and his party now do. "It is enough," he says, "with them, to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is antient and allowable ; *they never venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy sacraments ;*" while he allows, that "it *must* have occurred to the learned writers above mentioned." And he thus tries to account for the conduct he attributes to them ;—"One obvious reason, and probably the chief one, of their silence, was the relation in which they stood to the foreign protestant congregations. The question had been mixed up with considerations of personal friendship." "The leading protestant divines had occasionally committed themselves to statements and principles which would greatly stand in their way, if ever they found it requisite to assert the claims of Apostolical



“episcopacy.” “Should it be asked, how such accomplished divines, as Jewel and others of his class undoubtedly were, could permit themselves, for any present benefit to the Church, so to waver in so capital a point, with the full evidence of Antiquity before their eyes, it may be replied, first of all, that in some sort they wanted that full evidence with which later generations have been favoured.” “The works of the Fathers had not yet been critically sifted, so that in regard of almost every one of them, men were more or less embarrassed, during the whole of that age, with vague suspicions of interpolation.” “Further, it is obvious that those divines in particular who had been instrumental but a little before in the second change of the Liturgy in King Edward’s time, must have felt themselves in some measure restrained from pressing with its entire force the ecclesiastical tradition on church-government and Orders, inasmuch as in the aforesaid revision they had *given up altogether the same tradition* regarding certain *very material* points in the celebration, *if not in the doctrine*, of the Holy Eucharist;” and he thinks “an indefinite fear of interpolation in the early Liturgies” may have told in justifying to their minds the omissions in question. But, “it should seem that those who were responsible for those omissions must have felt themselves *precluded ever after from urging the necessity of episcopacy, or of anything else, on the ground of uniform Church Tradition.*” “To all these causes of hesitation, we must add the direct influence of the Court.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the account which Mr. Keble gives of the views and conduct of our Reformers. I leave it with the reader, as it would be equally painful as it is unnecessary to dissect it. The simple question is, Did these learned divines hold the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches to be essentially invalid, or did they not? The reader has seen the straits to which our opponents are reduced, to account for their language on the subject; and that the utmost that is pretended respecting them is, that their language is a sort of negative and inconsistent testimony, which prevents their being adducible by either

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE’S Pref. to Hooker, pp. lix—lxii.



party in this question, for that though they take practically low ground on the subject, they very possibly held theoretically the high ground of the Apostolical Succession. It is no doubt an ingenious way of eliminating negative quantities, and getting rid of awkward witnesses. But is it a fair one? However, we shall find afterwards, that authors are quoted in the *Catena of witnesses for this doctrine* who have expressly and in terms opposed it, and therefore we need not wonder at the force of prejudice displayed here.

To accumulate extracts from the works of our Reformers, to show that they acknowledged the Foreign Reformed Churches to be true Churches, and their ministers true ministers of Christ, ought to be a useless labour. But the claim made by our opponents in behalf of their doctrine as a doctrine of the Church of England, supported more or less by the testimony of the great body of her most distinguished divines, renders it necessary for me to place before the reader sufficient evidence to justify the view here taken of the judgment of our Church and her divines in the matter. To enter fully into the subject hardly falls within the scope of this work, and, therefore, for a full discussion of it, I must refer the reader to another work (published since the first edition of this treatise) in which I have treated it at length;<sup>1</sup> but I shall here give testimonies sufficient for the conviction of any impartial person.

I will not now repeat what I have adduced in the work just referred to,<sup>2</sup> showing what were the views of Cranmer and others of our leading divines of his age on the subject, when first engaged in the Reformation of our Church, but proceed at once to the period of that more settled state of things which commenced on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, from which our Formularies, according to the revised form which, excepting slight alterations, they have ever since maintained, date their origin. And I shall first reply to the testimonies cited by our opponents for the support of their views.

Mr. Keble has intimated, that Jewel, Whitgift, and Cooper,

<sup>1</sup> "Vindication of the Doctrine of the Church of England on the Validity of the Orders of the Scotch and Foreign Non-episcopal Churches"—in reply to the Bishop of Exeter and others.

<sup>2</sup> First tract. pp. 13—16; third tract, pp. 23—26.

though they did not openly maintain his view of the point in question, may nevertheless secretly have held it. I shall, therefore, begin with them, and prove that not only did they not secretly hold it, but openly and earnestly opposed it.

First, then, what is the testimony of Bishop Jewel?

On the parity of Order in bishops and presbyters, he says, "Is it so horrible a heresy as he [Harding] maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one? or knoweth he how far, and unto whom, he reacheth the name of a heretic? Verily Chrysostom saith, 'Between a bishop and a priest in a manner there is no difference.' (In 1 Tim. hom. 11.) S. Hierome saith, "'The Apostle plainly teacheth us, that bishops and priests be all one.' (Ad. Evagr.) S. Augustine saith, 'What is a bishop but the first priest; that is to say, the highest priest?' (In Quæst. N. et V. Test. q. 101.) So saith S. Ambrose, 'There is but one consecration (ordinatio) of priest and bishop; for both of them are priests, but the bishop is the first.' (In 1 Tim. c. 3.) All these and other more holy Fathers, together with St. Paul the Apostle, for thus saying, by M. Harding's advice, must be holden for heretics."<sup>1</sup>

And so far as concerns the necessity of an episcopal succession and ministry, the following passage will amply serve to show his views. "Therefore," he says, "we neither have bishops without Church, nor Church without bishops. Neither doth the Church of England this day depend of them, whom you often call apostates, as if our Church were no Church without them. . . . If there were not one, neither of them nor of us, left alive, yet would not, therefore, the whole Church of England flee to Lovaine. Tertullian saith, 'And we being laymen, are we not priests? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom and priests unto God his Father. The authority of the Church, and the honour by the Assembly or Council of Order, sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Where, as there is no assembly of ecclesiastical Order, the priest being there alone

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL'S Def. of Apol. Pt. ii. c. 9. div. 1. Works, ed. 1611. p. 202. See also Pt. ii. c. 3. div. 1. p. 85.

“ (without the company of other priests) doth both minister  
 “ the oblation, and also baptize.<sup>1</sup> . Yea, and be there but three  
 “ together, and though they be laymen, yet is there a Church.  
 “ For every man liveth of his own faith.’ . . . . Whosoever is  
 “ a member of Christ’s body, whosoever is a child of the  
 “ Church, whosoever is baptized in Christ and beareth his  
 “ name, is fully invested with this priesthood [i. e. as he  
 “ explains it in the context, the “*inward* priesthood”], and  
 “ therefore may justly be called a priest. And wheresoever  
 “ there be three such together, as Tertullian saith, yea, though  
 “ they be only laymen, yet have they a Church. . . All Christian  
 “ men are priests, and offer up to God the daily sacrifice, that  
 “ is, the sacrifice of Christ’s passion.”<sup>2</sup> This passage, I sus-  
 pect, goes much beyond what we are here contending for.

The next to be noticed is Archbishop Whitgift.

On the question of the parity of Order in bishops and presbyters, he speaks thus :—

“ Every bishop is a priest, but every priest hath not *the*  
 “ *name and title* of a bishop, in that meaning that Jerome in this  
 “ place [ad Evagr.] taketh the name of a bishop. . . . Neither  
 “ shall you find this word *episcopus* commonly used but for *that*  
 “ *priest that is in degree over and above the rest*, notwithstanding  
 “ *episcopus* be oftentimes called *presbyter*, because *presbyter* is  
 “ *the more general name*.”<sup>3</sup>

“ Although Hierome confess, that by Scripture *presbyter*  
 “ and *episcopus* is all one (AS INDEED THEY BE *quoad ministe-*  
 “ *rium*) yet doth he acknowledge a superiority of the bishop  
 “ before the minister. . . . Therefore no doubt this is Jerome’s  
 “ mind, that a bishop *in degree and dignity* is above the minis-  
 “ ter, though he be one and the self-same with him in the  
 “ office of ministering the word and sacraments.”<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, as to the form of government to be followed in

<sup>1</sup> Jewel quotes here from the corrupt reading of the early Romish editions. We have given the true reading of this passage, p. 228, 229, above; which, it will be observed, makes the passage still stronger in favour of the object for which Jewel quoted it.

<sup>2</sup> JEWEL’S Def. of Apol. Pt. 2. c. 5. div. 1. Works, ed. 1611. p. 129, 30.

<sup>3</sup> WHITGIFT’S Def. of Ans. to Adm. 1574. fol. p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 384, 385.



the Church. His adversary Cartwright, like the great body of the Puritans, contended for the exclusive admissibility of the platform of church government he advocated; and maintained, that "matters of discipline and kind of government are matters necessary to salvation and of faith." And this is Whitgift's reply:—

"I confess that in a Church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the second kind of necessity; but that any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the Church cannot be saved, *or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient*, I utterly deny, and the reasons that move me so to do be these. The first is, because *I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed and commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ*, which no doubt should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church. Secondly, because *the essential notes of the Church be these only; the true preaching of the word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments*: for (as Master Calvin saith in his book against the Anabaptists) 'This honour is meet to be given to the word of God, and to his sacraments, that wheresoever we see the word of God truly preached, and God according to the same truly worshipped, and the sacraments without superstition administered, there we may without all controversy conclude the Church of God to be:' and a little after,—'So much we must esteem the word of God and his sacraments, that wheresoever we find them to be, there we may certainly know the Church of God to be, although in the common life of men many faults and errors be found.' The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers, and the judgment of *the Reformed Churches*, as appeareth by their Confessions. So that notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet is it not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government, and there-



“ fore the kind of government of the Church is not necessary unto salvation.”<sup>1</sup>

“ *I deny that the Scriptures do . . . set down any one certain form and kind of government of the Church, to be perpetual for all times, persons, and places without alteration.*”<sup>2</sup>

And speaking of the platform of church-government contended for by Cartwright, he says,

“ Yet would I not have any man to think, that I condemn any Churches where this government is lawfully and without danger received; only I have regard to whole kingdoms, especially this realm, where it cannot but be dangerous.”<sup>3</sup>

In Tract 17, c. iv. he undertakes expressly to prove,—“ That there is no one certain kind of government in the Church which must of necessity be perpetually observed.”<sup>4</sup> And he remarks in it,—

“ It is plain, that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed, is *nowhere in the Scripture prescribed to the Church*; but the charge thereof is left to the Christian magistrate, so that nothing be done contrary to the word of God.”<sup>5</sup>

The remaining prelate referred to by Mr. Keble is Dr. Thomas Cooper, Bishop, first of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester; the leading defender of our Church against the Puritans of his day. In the year 1589 he published an “ Admonition to the People of England,” in answer to the attacks of the Puritan party. And thus he defends in this work the form of church-government established in this country:—“ As touching the government of the Church of England, now defended by the bishops, this I say. When God restored the doctrine of the Gospel more sincerely and more abundantly than ever before, under that good young prince King Edward VI. . . . by consent of all the States of this land, this manner of government that now is used, was by law confirmed *as good and godly* . . . . As for this question of church-government, I mean not at this time to

<sup>1</sup> WHITGIFT'S Def. of Answ. to Adm. 1574. fol. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 658.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 658.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. p. 659.

“ stand much on it . . . *Only this I desire, That they will lay down out of the word of God some just proofs, and a direct commandment, that there should be in all ages and states of the Church of Christ, one only form of outward government.*”<sup>1</sup>

So that, far from maintaining the necessity of the Episcopal form of church-government, he, on the contrary, challenges his opponents to prove that any particular form of church-government is necessary. And he adds,—“ Surely as grave learned men as most that have written in this time . . . do make good proof of this proposition, *That one form of church-government is not necessary in all times and places of the Church*, and that their Senate or Segniorie is not convenient under a Christian magistrate.” And after pointing out the different forms of church-government that prevailed in the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches, he says,—“ All those Churches in which the Gospel in these days, after great darkness, was first renewed, and the learned men whom God sent to instruct them, I doubt not but *have been directed by the Spirit of God to retain this liberty*, that in external government and other outward orders, they might choose such as they thought in wisdom and godliness to be most convenient for the state of their country and disposition of the people. *Why then should this liberty that other countries have used, under any colour be wrested from us ?*” (Ib. p. 66.) “ *The reason that moveth us not to like of this platform of government is, that when we on the one part consider the things that are required to be redressed, and on the other the state of our country, people, and commonweal, we see evidently, that to plant those things in this Church will draw with it so many and so great alterations of the state of government and of the laws, as the attempting thereof might bring rather the overthrow of the Gospel among us, than the end that is desired.*” (Ib. p. 67.)

The character of these testimonies it is needless to point out.

Nay further, let us proceed to those who are more particularly claimed by our opponents as witnessing in their favour.

<sup>1</sup> COOPER'S Admon. to the People of Engl. (repr.) Lond. 1847. pp. 61—63.

Let us take first the testimony of Hadrian Saravia; of whom Mr. Keble writes thus:—"Saravia is a distinct and "independent testimony to the doctrine of *exclusive* [the "italics are mine] divine right in bishops.... And since "Saravia was afterwards in familiar intercourse with Hooker, "and his confidential adviser when writing on nearly the same "subjects, we may with reason use the recorded opinions of "the one for interpreting what might seem otherwise ambiguous in the other." (Pref. to Hooker, p. lxvii.)

Now certainly Hadrian Saravia took very high ground in his defence of Episcopacy, maintaining that the Episcopal authority was of Divine institution and Apostolical tradition, and was taught as well by the word of God as the universal consent of all Churches;<sup>1</sup> yet in the same work he speaks thus:—"In our fathers' memory Luther, Bucer, Œcolampadius, and others, had no other calling than that which "they had received in the Church of Rome; and when it "happened to them to be called before Cæsar, no question "respecting their calling could ever be justly raised; and if "it had been, they had an answer ready more fit in my judgment than that which was made at the Conference at Poissy ".... For although all who had assembled there before the "king had not the same kind of Ordination, and some were "ordained by bishops of the Church of Rome, *others by the Reformed Churches, none of them ought to have been ashamed "of his Ordination.* They might, so far as I can see, without "any danger, have professed that they had been *ordained and "called*, some by bishops of the Church of Rome, *others by "orthodox presbyters*, in the order received in the Churches of "Christ, after an examination of their morals and doctrine, "and with the authority of the magistrate and consent of the "people, with the imposition of hands and prayer. Although "I am of opinion that Ordinations of ministers of the Church

<sup>1</sup> "Episcopalem auctoritatem Divinæ institutionis et Apostolicæ traditionis esse defendo, et id tam Verbo Dei quam universali omnium Ecclesiarum consensu doceri." Defens. Tract. de divers. Ministr. Ev. gradibus; In Epist. dedicat.—Op. 1611.

“ properly belong to bishops, yet necessity causes, that when  
 “ they are wanting and cannot be had, *orthodox presbyters can,*  
 “ *in case of necessity, ordain a presbyter ;* which thing, although  
 “ it is not in accordance with the order received from the  
 “ times of the Apostles, yet is excused by the necessity of the  
 “ case, which causes that in such a state of things a presbyter  
 “ may be a bishop. Moreover, although the act is out of the  
 “ usual order, the calling is not to be considered extraordi-  
 “ nary.” [And then, having remarked that no one ought to  
 receive Orders from a heretical bishop, and that the Romish  
 bishops were all heretics, he adds:] “ This also is true, that  
 “ in such a state of confusion in the Church, when all the  
 “ bishops fall away from the true worship of God unto idolatry,  
 “ without any violation of the government of the Church, the  
 “ whole authority of the Episcopal ecclesiastical government  
 “ is devolved upon the pious and orthodox presbyters, *so that*  
 “ *a presbyter clearly may ordain presbyters. . . .* There is one  
 “ God, one Lord Jesus Christ, one Church, one Baptism, one  
 “ Ministry. The difference there is between presbyters and  
 “ pastors of the Church of Christ consists in the autho-  
 “ rity of Ecclesiastical government. And this is not violated,  
 “ when, the higher orders being in any way removed, those  
 “ who are of the lowest grade alone remain, with whom, con-  
 “ sequently, *the whole power of the keys of the Church then*  
 “ *resides. . . .* But where all the bishops are become impious  
 “ heretics, the orthodox presbyters are freed from their juris-  
 “ diction, and *ought to vindicate to themselves the power of*  
 “ *the keys which they have received in their Ordination. . . .*  
 “ I certainly know not by what necessity Master Beza should  
 “ have been compelled to resort to an extraordinary calling.  
 “ *For I do not think that either he, or Nicholas Galasius, or any*  
 “ *other that may have been then present, not ordained by Romish*  
 “ *bishops, took upon themselves the ministry of the Word without*  
 “ *a legitimate calling received in the Churches of Christ.”*<sup>1</sup>

Nor did he hold, that the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches

<sup>1</sup> SARAV. Defens. Tract. de divers. Ministr. Ev. gradibus, &c., ch. ii. pp. 32. 33.  
 I translate from the Latin in his Works, published in 1611.



were bound to seek Episcopacy from some Reformed Episcopal Church, for he says,—“If they call in the aid of our men, and “wish to use their advice, they can ; but if they do not, they “ought not to arrogate to themselves any authority over them “and their churches, but to rejoice, and congratulate them “upon their conversion, and offer them communion (*offerre societatem*).”<sup>1</sup>

So that here again we have a direct testimony in favour of the validity of the Ordinations of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches.

Next let us take some of those that are quoted by our opponents, in their “Catena” on this subject,<sup>2</sup> as express witnesses in favour of their doctrine.

First, Hooker. The quotation given in the “Catena” is, as is not unusual in these “Catenas,” one which is utterly insufficient to show Hooker’s opinion on the point in question, one way or the other ; and elsewhere he speaks thus : “Now “whereas hereupon some do infer, that no Ordination can “stand, but only such as is made by bishops which have had “their Ordination likewise by other bishops before them, till “we come to the very Apostles of Christ themselves ; in which “respect *it was demanded of Beza at Poissie*, ‘By what authority he could administer the Holy Sacraments,’ &c. [the “reader will observe *the instance cited*]. . . . to this we answer, “that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason “to allow Ordination made without a bishop. The whole “Church visible being the true original subject of all power, “it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone “to ordain ; howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in “all things to be observed, so it may be, in some cases, not “unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men “may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted “unto spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God “himself doth of himself raise up any. . . . Another . . . when “the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual “ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See Tract 74.

"keep."<sup>1</sup> And, in a former passage of the same book, he distinctly admits the power of the Church at large to take away the episcopal form of government from the Church, and says, "*Let them [i. e. bishops] continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them in that respect, than that any such true and heavenly law can be showed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear, that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops,*" adding that "*their authority*" is "*a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.*"<sup>2</sup> And therefore, though he admits the office and superiority of bishops to be of Apostolical institution, and takes higher ground on the subject than most of his contemporaries, yet all that he undertakes to prove on the subject is, that such superiority is "*a thing allowable, lawful, and good.*"<sup>3</sup>

This, I confess, appears to me rather low ground to take; but certainly it shows the complete contrariety of Hooker's views to those of our opponents. What is Mr. Keble's explanation in his Preface to Hooker? That Hooker "*shrunk from the legitimate result of HIS OWN PREMISES;*" "*he did not feel at liberty to press unreservedly, and develope, in all its consequences, that part of the argument which they [i. e. Laud and others] regarded as the most vital and decisive: THE NECESSITY, namely, of the Apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace and to our mystical communion with Christ.*"<sup>4</sup> Such is the treatment awarded to one of our most learned and judicious divines. To offer any defence of Hooker against such charges, would be a waste of words indeed. *But there is one question which I would seriously ask of the author of the "Catena," namely, How he can reconcile it with fair dealing, when it is notorious, and confessed by his own party, that*

<sup>1</sup> HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. vii. 14. See also iii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Eccl. Pol. vii. 5. See also i. 14, and iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Eccl. Pol. vii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> KEBLE'S Pref. to Hooker, p. lxxvii.

*Hooker did not follow out "his own premises" (to use their phrase) so as to maintain their doctrine, but expressly repudiates it, to select a passage so worded as to lead a cursory reader to think that Hooker held it, and put it as a proof of Hooker's advocacy of their doctrine in their "Catena" of witnesses for it? In what position does such a fact leave their boasted "Catenas?"* This is one of the most painful parts of the whole subject, and one on which it is impossible not to feel strongly; because the cause that, beyond all others, has tended to produce the partial and temporary success our opponents have gained, is the supposition derived from their "Catenas," that they are only enforcing the doctrines which almost all our great divines have held before them.

Another divine quoted in the "Catena," is Archbishop Bancroft, and on the same ground I suppose as Hooker, namely, that he held the episcopate to be an Apostolical institution. But they will find equally as in the last case, that neither did Archbishop Bancroft follow out "his own premises." For the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in his History of Scotland, tells us, "that when the Scots bishops were to be " consecrated by the bishops of London, Ely, and Bath, here " at London house, anno 1609, a question was moved by Dr. " Andrews, bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the " Scottish bishops, who, as he said, ' must first be ordained pres- " byters, as having received no Ordination from a bishop.' The " Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, main- " tained, ' that thereof there was no necessity, seeing *where* " *bishops could not be had, the Ordination given by the presbyters* " *must be esteemed lawful*, otherwise that it might be doubted, " if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed " Churches.' This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely " acquiesced."<sup>1</sup> And this testimony is the more remarkable from Dr. Bancroft, as, in his famous Sermon at Paul's Cross, he was considered to have taken rather high ground as to the claims of episcopacy.

<sup>1</sup> SPOTSWOOD'S Hist. of Church and State of Scotland. 4th ed. 1677. fol. p. 514.

Another of our opponents' witnesses in their "Catena" is Archdeacon Francis Mason. An extract is given from his celebrated "Vindiciæ." Now will it be believed, that the same author, in a tract published in 1641, after his death, consisting of some papers originally intended by him to form part of the very work quoted in the "Catena," expressly defends "*the validity of the Ordination of the ministers of the Reformed Churches beyond the seas.*" The publication of these papers in this way has caused some (especially Mason's translator, Lindsay,) to cast a suspicion upon the genuineness of the tract; but not only is it spoken of as his by his contemporary Dr. Bernard, Usher's chaplain, (Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, 1657, p. 133,) and first appeared in a Collection of Tracts of which Usher was partly the author, but in a letter of Dr. Ward (then Master of Sidney College, Cambridge) to Usher, written shortly after the publication of the first edition of Mason's work in 1613, we find the following passages: "I pray you inform me, what the specialties are which are omitted in Mr. Mason's book. I would only know the heads." And again returning to the subject at the close of the letter, he says,— "I had no leisure when I was with you to inquire how Mr. Mason doth warrant the vocation and Ordination of the ministers of the Reformed Churches in Foreign parts." —(Parr's Life and Letters of Usher, 1686. fol. p. 31.)

Now in this tract Mason says,—

The Bishop, "in his consecration, receiveth a sacred office, an eminency, a jurisdiction, a dignity, a degree of ecclesiastical pre-eminence." "He hath no higher degree in respect of intention or extension of the character; but he hath a higher degree, that is, a more excellent place, in respect of authority and jurisdiction in spiritual regiment. *Wherefore, seeing a presbyter is equal to a bishop in the power of Order, he hath equally intrinsical power to give Orders.*" (pp. 160, 161.) Whereby he means, I conceive, that a presbyter, having received the full ministerial character, is *intrinsically* capable of passing that character to others, when an office or jurisdiction is given him by the Church by which such



power may regularly and canonically be exercised. The speaker for the Romanists, making the precise objection of our opponents, observes,—“the pre-eminence of bishops is *jure divino*.” To which *Orthodox* answers thus,—“First, if you mean by *jure divino* that which is according to the Scripture, then the pre-eminence of bishops is *jure divino*: for it hath been already proved to be according to the Scripture. Secondly, if by *jure divino* you mean the ordinance of God, in this sense also it may be said to be *jure divino*. For it is an ordinance of the Apostles, whereunto they were directed by God’s Spirit, even by the spirit of prophecy, and consequently the ordinance of God. But if by *jure divino* you understand a law and commandment of God, binding all Christian Churches, universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity that no other form of regiment may in any case be admitted; in this sense neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it, to be *jure divino*.” “The Apostles in their lifetime ordained many bishops, and left a fair pattern to posterity. The Church, following the commodiousness thereof, embraced it in all ages through the Christian world.” (p. 163.) This passage may, I hope, disabuse the minds of our opponents of the notion, that every body who held the pre-eminence of bishops to be *jure divino*, or by Apostolical institution, is to be immediately put down as a supporter of their doctrine, and charged with forsaking the legitimate consequences of “his own premises,” if he does not hold that doctrine, and may teach them to be a little more circumspect, and I may add, *fair*, in the getting up of their “Catenas.”

The Archdeacon then proceeds to defend the validity of the Ordinations in the Foreign Reformed Churches, first on the ground of *necessity*; to which the defender of the Church of Rome, after some discussion, ultimately replies,—“Suppose that Ordination might be devolved to Presbyters in case of necessity, yet the necessity ceasing, such extraordinary courses should likewise cease. Why then, do they continue their former practice? Why do they not now seek to receive

“ their Orders from Protestant bishops ? ” To which *Orthodox*  
 replies thus :—“ *The Churches of Germany need not to seek to*  
 “ *foreign bishops, because they have superintendents or bishops*  
 “ *among themselves. And as for other places which embrace the*  
 “ *discipline of Geneva, they also have bishops in effect ; for, two*  
 “ *things of all other are most proper to bishops ; (1) singu-*  
 “ *larity in succeeding, because, though there be many pres-*  
 “ *byters in a Church, yet, above the rest, there is one star,*  
 “ *one angel, of whose unity depends the unity of the Church ;*  
 “ *and therefore, when he dieth, another must succeed in the*  
 “ *like singularity. (2) Superiority in ordaining, because ever*  
 “ *since the Apostles’ times, these stars and angels have been in-*  
 “ *vested with the power of Ordination, which they might per-*  
 “ *form without presbyters, but presbyters might not regularly*  
 “ *perform without them. Now, in these Reformed Churches,*  
 “ *the president of each Presbytery is their star or angel, indued*  
 “ *with both properties. Concerning the first, Beza saith,*  
 “ *‘ Essentiale fuit,’ &c. ‘ This was essential in the matter we*  
 “ *have in hand, that by God’s perpetual ordinance it hath been,*  
 “ *is, and shall be, needful, that some one in the presbytery,*  
 “ *which is first both in place and dignity, should have the*  
 “ *pre-eminence in ruling of every action with that right*  
 “ *which is given him from God.’ (Beza de div. gradib.*  
 “ *minist. contr. Sarav. c. 23. § 25.) Therefore, concerning*  
 “ *the second, whereas the presbytery consisteth partly of*  
 “ *ministers, partly of laymen, their lay-presbyters are wholly*  
 “ *excluded from Ordination. For Calvin (in 2 Tim. i. 6, and*  
 “ *Instit. lib. 4. c. 3. § 16,) teacheth, that in the Apostolic*  
 “ *times, only pastors imposed hands, neither is it lawful for*  
 “ *every pastor in the presbytery to execute this office ; but it*  
 “ *is reserved to him who is first both in place and dignity,*  
 “ *having pre-eminence in every action, and consequently in*  
 “ *Ordination. Wherefore, though that he do it not by his sole*  
 “ *authority, but with common consent, neither hath the name*  
 “ *of a bishop or such ample titles annexed as godly princes*  
 “ *have thought fit for the honor of the place, (because these*  
 “ *things are not suitable with popular estates delighting in*  
 “ *equality,) yet he hath the substance of the office itself ; which*

“ he exerciseth not in one only particular parish, but in the  
 “ city, suburbs, and the territories thereof, containing sundry  
 “ parishes, as for example, at Geneva, xxiv or thereabout.  
 “ Wherefore, seeing a bishop and a presbyter *do not differ in*  
 “ *Order*, but only in pre-eminence and jurisdiction, as your-  
 “ selves acknowledge, and seeing Calvin and Beza had the  
 “ Order of priesthood, which is the highest Order in the Church  
 “ of God, and were *lawfully chosen*, the one after the other, to  
 “ a place of eminency, and indued with jurisdiction *derived*  
 “ *unto them from the whole Church wherein they lived*—you  
 “ cannot with reason deny them the *substance of the episcopal*  
 “ *office*. And whereinsoever their discipline is defective, we  
 “ wish them, even in the bowels of Christ Jesus, by all pos-  
 “ sible means, to redress and reform it, and to conform them-  
 “ selves to the antient custom of the Church of Christ, which  
 “ hath continued from the Apostles’ time, that so they may  
 “ remove all opinion of singularity, and stop the mouth of  
 “ malice itself. Thus much concerning the ministers of other  
 “ Reformed Churches, wherein, if you will not believe us dis-  
 “ puting for *the lawfulness of their calling*, yet you must give  
 “ us leave to believe God himself from heaven approving their  
 “ ministry by pouring down a blessing upon their labours.  
 “ Bless them still, O Lord, and bless us, and make all our  
 “ ministry faithful, fruitful, and effectual, to the comfort of  
 “ our own consciences, the advancing of thy kingdom, the  
 “ joy of thy little flock, and to the recalling of those lost  
 “ sheep which as yet wander in the wilderness of the Church  
 “ of Rome, or elsewhere, that so it may be powerful by thy  
 “ Spirit to the salvation of many thousand souls.” (pp.  
 173—6.) To which prayer I most heartily respond, amen,  
 and humbly pray that it may please God to impart more of  
 the spirit breathed in these lines to his whole Church.

Another witness quoted by our opponents in their “Catena”  
 is Bishop Hall. And thus he speaks on the subject:—“The  
 “ imputation pretended to be cast by this tenet [the Divine  
 “ right of Episcopacy] upon all the Reformed Churches which  
 “ want this government, I endeavoured so to satisfy, that I  
 “ might justly decline the envy which is intended to be



“ thereby raised against us : for which cause, I professed that  
 “ we do ‘love and honour those our sister-Churches, as the  
 “ dear Spouse of Christ ;’ and give zealous testimonies of my  
 “ well-wishing to them. Your uncharitableness offers to  
 “ choke me with those *scandalous censures and disgraceful*  
 “ *terms* which some of ours have let fall upon those Churches,  
 “ and their eminent professors : which, I confess, it is more  
 “ easy to be sorry for, than, on some hands, to excuse. The  
 “ error of a few may not be imputed to all. My just defence  
 “ is, that no such consequent can be drawn from our opinion :  
 “ forasmuch as the Divine or Apostolical right, which we  
 “ hold, goes not so high as if there were an express command,  
 “ that, upon an absolute necessity, there must be either Epis-  
 “ copacy or no Church ; but so far only, that it both may  
 “ and ought to be. How fain would you here find me in  
 “ a contradiction ! *While I, onewhere, reckon Episcopacy*  
 “ *amongst matters essential to the Church ; anotherwhere, deny*  
 “ *it to be of the essence thereof ! Wherein you willingly hide*  
 “ *your eyes, that you may not see the distinction that I make*  
 “ *expressly betwixt the Being and the Well-being of a Church :*  
 “ affirming, that ‘those Churches, to whom this power and  
 “ faculty is denied, *lose nothing of the true essence of a Church,*  
 “ though they miss something of their glory and perfection.’  
 “ No, Brethren, it is enough for some of your friends, to hold  
 “ their Discipline altogether essential to the very being of a  
 “ Church : we dare not be so zealous.”<sup>1</sup>

We here see, that he throws back upon the Puritans the exclusive doctrine of the indispensability of one particular form of church-government, and disowns it ; and also, that his general testimony to Episcopacy had been misunderstood and misrepresented, as if he had intended to deny the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches to be true Churches : a fact which may show, how easy it is to parade a Catena of testimonies from our divines appearing to the cursory reader to maintain the exclusive doctrine, while nevertheless the authors of those testimonies meant nothing of the kind.

<sup>1</sup> BP. HALL'S Def. of Humble Remonstrance. § 14. Wks. vol. ix. p. 690.  
 And see his “Peacemaker,” § 6. Wks. vol. viii. p. 56.



To go through our opponents' whole Catena is, of course, impossible in this place; but I will venture to affirm, that it would be easy to show, as to three-fourths at least of the authors there cited, that they are equally opposed to our opponents' views as the four we have just noticed. And, indeed, if the reader will take the trouble of investigating the extracts they themselves have given, he will find very few that at all bear upon the disputed points. I am sorry to say, however, that this seems to be the plan commonly adopted by the Tractators. *Under a phrase which may be interpreted in various ways, they lay down a certain doctrine, and then quote as supporters of their views, all those who have defended any doctrine that has been called by the same name.*

The ground taken by our early divines, as shown by the testimonies above given, was, that the Episcopal form of church-government is the best and the most scriptural, and comes recommended to us by the practice of the Church even from the times of the Apostles, but has not been authoritatively laid down by Christ or his Apostles as of indispensable obligation, and therefore is not binding upon all Churches.

They did not oppose the early Nonconformists, on the ground of the absolute necessity of the Episcopal form of church-government, still less of a succession of bishops consecrated by bishops, to constitute a Church. They left such notions to the Romanists. But they found fault with them, as throwing a well-constituted Church into confusion and disorder, as causing needless schisms and divisions, and as sinfully disobeying the ordinances of the Supreme Power in the State, which had established a Christian Church agreeable to Holy Scripture and Apostolic practice. The high-flown claims of our Tractarian High Churchmen to the *exclusive admissibility* of one system of church-government, were the weapons, not of the divines of our Church, but of their opponents the Nonconformists. The Genevan platform of church-government, was with the Puritans that which alone was conformable to the word of God. Every other, but especially the Prelatical, was to be eschewed as an abomination. And,

as to the power of the civil ruler in religious matters, they spoke of it—much as the Tractarians now speak of it ; except that under Elizabeth they muttered in the dark what under Victoria is proclaimed in the market-place.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is that extremes meet.

But, Mr. Keble says, “The 23rd Article affirms the principle of the Succession.” “The Article virtually enforces succession as the test of a lawful ministry.”<sup>2</sup> Now, as it respects our own Church, there is no dispute, that, according to its present regulations, those Orders only can qualify a man for service in its ministry that are derived from the Episcopal Succession. But certainly the 23rd Article does not lay down any such “test of a lawful ministry,” either for other Churches or our own, as Mr. Keble here attributes to it. In fact he has himself admitted, that our early Reformers, by whom the Article was drawn up, never avowed such doctrine, and he has blamed them for shrinking from such an avowal ; so that his application of the Article seems clearly an oversight. Hooker’s instance of valid Non-episcopal Orders is that of Beza ; precisely the sort of case Mr. Keble has instanced as one of *invalid* Orders.<sup>3</sup>

We may appeal with confidence to the Formularies of our Church, even as they now stand after the alteration made in the Preface to the Ordination Service in 1662, as showing that it does not in any way impeach the validity of the Orders of Non-Episcopal Churches.

Thus, in the Article of our Church on the subject of the ministry, we find it carefully worded so as not to limit a lawful ministry to those that have Episcopal Ordination.

<sup>1</sup> Hence we may remark, by the way, that when we are considering the events of that period, and the apparent (and to some extent real) absence of those principles of toleration now so happily established among us, it must not be forgotten, that the object of the early Nonconformists was, not the mere toleration of their own system, but the utter subversion of the system of church-government then established by the consent of the sovereign, the clergy, and the people, and the substitution of their own in its stead. This was notoriously and confessedly their aim ; and this it was which infused so much wrath and bitterness into the controversies of the period, and was no doubt the reason of much of the persecution to which they were subjected.

<sup>2</sup> Sermon, pp. 97, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Sermon, p. 98.

“It is not lawful (says the Article) for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them, *in the congregation*, to call and send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.” (Art. 23.)

It should seem hardly possible for one acquainted with the circumstances of those times to read this Article and not see, that it is carefully worded, so as not to exclude the ministry of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches. In fact the Article requires nothing more as necessary for lawful calling, than what is required in the Confessions of several of those very Non-Episcopal Churches themselves, as, for instance, the Helvetic, (Art. 16.) Bohemian, (c. 9.) and Belgic. (Art. 31.)

But a more authentic interpretation of this Article can hardly be conceived than that given by Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, in his “Exposition of the Articles,” published in 1607, as “perused and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public,” and which the Archbishop ordered all the parishes in his province to supply themselves with. He deduces from the Article the six following propositions:—

“1. None publicly may preach, but such as thereunto are authorized. 2. They must not be silent who by office are bound to preach. 3. The sacraments may not be administered in the congregation but by a lawful minister. 4. There is a lawful ministry in the Church. 5. They are lawful ministers which be ordained by men lawfully appointed to the calling and sending forth of ministers. 6. Before ministers are to be ordained, they are to be chosen and called.”

And then proceeding to point out the testimonies we have in favour of the truth of these propositions, he observes upon each, as he comes to it, that the Foreign Reformed Churches maintain it. On the first he says,—“All this is acknowledged by

the Reformed Churches ;” referring to the Helvetic, Bohemie, French, and other Confessions. On the second,—“ Hereunto bear witness all the Churches of God which be purged from superstition and errors ;” referring to the same Confessions. On the third,—“ Hereunto do the Churches of God subscribe ;” referring to the same Confessions. On the fourth,—“ A truth also approved by the Churches ;” referring to the same Confessions. On the fifth,—“ So testify with us the true Churches elsewhere in the world ;” referring to the same Confessions. On the sixth,—“ And this do the Churches Protestant by their Confessions approve ;” referring to the same Confessions.<sup>1</sup>

And this is not only a testimony as to the meaning of the Article, but as to the light in which the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches were then regarded by the authorities of our Church, even by so high a Churchman (to use the common phrase) as Archbishop Bancroft.

Proceeding to a later period, we find Bishop Burnet thus commenting on this Article :—“ If a company of Christians find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they cannot with a good conscience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worship God purely and in a regular way ; if, I say, such a body, finding some that have been ordained, though to the lower functions, should submit itself entirely to their conduct, or finding none of those, should by a common consent desire some of their own number to minister to them in holy things, and should upon that beginning grow up to a regulated constitution, though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done without a very great sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent ; yet if the necessity is real and not feigned, this is not condemned or annulled by the Article ;

<sup>1</sup> “ The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, &c. expressed in 39 Articles, &c. ; the said Articles analyzed into propositions, and the propositions proved to be agreeable both to the written word of God and to the extant Confessions of all the neighbour Churches Christianly reformed.” 1607. 4to.



“ for when this grows to a constitution, and when it was begun  
 “ by the consent of a Body, who are supposed to have an  
 “ authority in such an extraordinary case, *whatever some hotter*  
 “ *spirits have thought of this since that time, yet we are very*  
 “ *sure, that not only those who penned the Articles, but the Body*  
 “ *of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding*  
 “ *those irregularities, acknowledge the Foreign Churches, so*  
 “ *constituted, to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a*  
 “ *Church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and*  
 “ *continued still to be in an imperfect state. And therefore the*  
 “ *general words in which this part of the Article is framed, seem*  
 “ *to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them.*”<sup>1</sup>

And Professor Hey justly remarks, that the expression,  
 “ who have public authority given unto them in the congrega-  
 tion,” “ seems to leave the *manner* of giving the power of  
 “ ordaining quite free: it seems as if any religious society  
 “ might, consistently with this Article, appoint officers, with  
 “ power of Ordination, by election, representation, or lot; as  
 “ if, therefore, the right to Ordain did not depend upon any  
 “ uninterrupted *succession*.”<sup>2</sup>

The same view is taken of the meaning of this Article by  
 Bishop Tomline, ordinarily considered a sufficiently high  
 churchman.<sup>3</sup>

It is quite clear, that the words of the Article do not main-  
 tain the necessity of Episcopal Ordination; and consequently,  
 as the object of the Article is to shew the doctrine of the  
 Church of England on the subject, it cannot be said that the  
 Church of England maintains it. No one, therefore, has a  
 right to put forth such a doctrine as the doctrine of the  
 Church of England.

This is the only place in which our Church touches the  
 question of Ordination in the abstract; and we see that it is  
 carefully worded, so as to be consistent with the constitution  
 of the Foreign Reformed Churches.

As it respects the Preface to the Ordination-Service, the  
 remark there made as to the three Orders of the Ministry

<sup>1</sup> BURNET'S Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. 5th. ed. 1746.

<sup>2</sup> HEY'S Lectures in Divinity. 2nd ed. 1822. vol. iv. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> TOMLINE'S Expos. of Art. ed. 1799. p. 376.

having existed from the times of the Apostles, is simply the statement of a fact, which does not touch the question of the validity of the Orders of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches. The defence of their case rests upon the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. And the recognition even of the necessity of Episcopal Ordination for ministering in the Church of England *was not added till the review after the Restoration*; so that, as we shall see presently, those who had only Presbyterian Ordination, had previously been allowed to minister in our Church. But this irregularity was very properly put an end to at the Restoration, both by the Preface to the Ordination-Service, and also by the Act of Uniformity. (13, 14, Car. II. c. 4.)<sup>1</sup>

But still further; by the 55th Canon of 1604, all our clergy are required, in the bidding prayer before, or rather in the commencement of, the sermon, to pray for "the Church of Scotland." Now the Church of Scotland, at the time this Canon was passed, was Presbyterian, as it now is. And, consequently, the very men who are now protesting against the recognition of any Ordinations as valid but Episcopal, and contending that it is the doctrine of our Church that there is no such thing as a valid ministry but through an apostolically descended episcopate, are, by Canon, bound solemnly to recognise in their prayers every Sunday the existence of a valid ministry without any such Ordination. For, a prayer for the Presbyterian "Church of Scotland" clearly involves such a recognition.

And what is, perhaps, still stronger evidence on the subject, the *practice* of our Church for many years after the Reformation entirely refutes the notion, that she holds the Ordinations of all Non-Episcopal Churches to be invalid; for, *until the period of the Restoration, ministers of the Scotch and Foreign*

<sup>1</sup> The original arrangement of the Services for the Ordination of presbyters and the consecration of bishops in our Ordinal, may be viewed as a still further indication of the mind of our Reformers; and the changes made in them in 1662 do not take away this argument, but only show the tendencies of those who revised them. But this argument it is not necessary to dilate upon in so clear a case.

*Reformed Churches were admitted to the cure of souls in our Church without any fresh Ordination.*

In 1582 (April 6) a licence was granted by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Grindal) to a minister of the name of John Morrison, who had only Scotch Orders, in the following terms :—" Since you the foresaid John Morrison, " about five years past, in the town of Garvet in the county of " Lothian of the kingdom of Scotland, were *admitted and* " *ordained to sacred Orders and the holy ministry, by the imposi-* " *tion of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the* " *Reformed Church of Scotland* ; and since the congregation of " that county of Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith " and sincere religion now received in this realm of England, " and established by public authority : we, therefore, as much " as lies in us, and as by right we may, *approving and ratify-* " *ing the form of your Ordination and preferment* (præfectionis) " done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a licence and " faculty, *with the consent and express command* of the most " reverend Father in Christ the Lord Edmund, by the Divine " providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that " *in such Orders by you taken* you may, and have power, in any " convenient places in and throughout the whole province of " Canterbury, *to celebrate divine offices, to minister the sacra-* " *ments, &c.* as much as in us lies, and we may *de jure*, and " as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow," &c.<sup>1</sup>

Another case is that of Dr. De Laune, which is given in Dr. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, from a letter of Bishop Cosin, a witness of the case, in the following terms :—" Dr. De Laune, who translated the English Liturgy into " French, being collated to a living, and coming to the Bishop, " then at Norwich, with his presentation, his Lordship asked " him where he had his Orders. He answered, that he was " ordained by the Presbytery at Leyden. The Bishop upon " this advised him to take the opinion of counsel, whether by " the laws of England he was capable of a benefice without " being ordained by a bishop. The doctor replied, that he " thought his Lordship would be unwilling to reordain him,

<sup>1</sup> STRYPE'S Life of Grindal, bk. 2. c. xiii. p. 271 ; or Oxf. ed. p. 402.



“ if his counsel should say, that he was not otherwise capable  
 “ of the living by law. The Bishop rejoined,—‘ Reordination  
 “ we must not admit, no more than a rebaptization ; but *in*  
 “ *case you find it doubtful whether you be a priest capable to*  
 “ *receive a benefice among us, or no,* I will do the same office for  
 “ you, if you desire it, that I should do for one who doubts of  
 “ his baptism, when all things belonging essentially unto it  
 “ have not been duly observed in the administration of it,  
 “ according to the rule in the Book of Common Prayer, *If*  
 “ *thou beest not already,* &c. YET FOR MINE OWN PART, IF YOU  
 “ WILL ADVENTURE THE ORDERS THAT YOU HAVE, I WILL  
 “ ADMIT YOUR PRESENTATION, AND GIVE YOU INSTITUTION  
 “ INTO THE LIVING HOWSOEVER.’ But the title, which this  
 “ presentation had from the patron, proving not good, there  
 “ were no further proceedings in it ; yet AFTERWARDS DR. DE  
 “ LAUNE WAS ADMITTED INTO ANOTHER BENEFICE WITHOUT  
 “ ANY NEW ORDINATION.”<sup>1</sup>

And on this point various testimonies might be added  
 from unquestionable authorities ; as, for instance, that of  
 Bishop Cosin, confessedly (as the phrase goes) a High Church-  
 man. He says, in an admirable letter on this subject, written  
 from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, from which we shall presently give  
 a large extract,—“ Therefore, if at any time a minister so  
 “ ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate  
 “ himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of  
 “ souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known  
 “ some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in  
 “ *many other* before my time,) *our bishops did not reordain*  
 “ *him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have*  
 “ *done, if his former Ordination here in France had been void.*  
 “ NOR DID OUR LAWS REQUIRE MORE OF HIM THAN TO DECLARE  
 “ HIS PUBLIC CONSENT TO THE RELIGION RECEIVED AMONGST  
 “ US, AND TO SUBSCRIBE THE ARTICLES ESTABLISHED.”<sup>2</sup>

And the same testimony is borne by Bishop Fleetwood, who  
 says, that this was “ certainly her practice [*i. e.* of our Church]

<sup>1</sup> BIRCH’S Life of Archbishop Tillotson, 2nd ed. 1753, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Mr. Cordel, in Basire’s Account of Bishop Cosin, annexed to his  
 Funeral Sermon ; and also in Bishop Fleetwood’s Judgment of the Church of  
 England in the case of Lay-Baptism. 2nd ed. Lond. 1712. p. 52.



“ during the reigns of King James and King Charles I. and to  
 “ the year 1661. We had many ministers from Scotland, from  
 “ France, and the Low Countries, who were ordained by pres-  
 “ byters only, and not bishops, and they were instituted into  
 “ benefices with cure. . . . and yet were never re-ordained, but  
 “ only subscribed the Articles.”<sup>1</sup>

If these cases do not prove, that at least our Church has never disowned the validity of the Ordinations of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches, and that her *practice* till the Restoration was to recognise their validity, nothing would do so. For, Dr. Cosin, who must have been well acquainted with the matter, (having filled important posts in the Church since the year 1616, and been librarian to Bishop Overal, and domestic chaplain to Bishop Neale,) speaks of it, not as a custom with *some* only, but as the practice of “ the bishops ” generally, and sanctioned by the law.

The last sentence in the extract from Dr. Cosin no doubt refers to the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12, in which it was enacted, that any professing to be a priest or minister of God’s word and sacraments, who had been ordained by any other form than that authorized by Edw. VI. and Queen Elizabeth, should be called upon to declare his assent and subscribe to the Articles of religion. The persons more particularly in the eye of the framers of the Act were probably those ordained by the Romish form, but the application of the clause was of course general.

The same testimony is borne by Bishop Burnet, who says,—  
 “ Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which  
 “ was more at large formerly : *those who came to England from*  
 “ *the Foreign Churches had not been required to be ordained*  
 “ *among us* : but now all, that had not Episcopal Ordination,  
 “ were made incapable of holding any Ecclesiastical bene-  
 “ fice.”<sup>2</sup>

Nay, Mr. Keble himself confesses, that, “ nearly up to the  
 “ time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to  
 “ the ministry of the Church in England, with no better than

<sup>1</sup> Judgm. of Church of Engl. in case of Lay-Baptism, 1712. 8vo. Pt. ii. Works, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> BURNET’S Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 183.

“ Presbyterian Ordination : and it appears by Travers’s Supplication to the Council, that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received Orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England.”<sup>1</sup>

And the only one of our early divines, of any weight, whom I can find to have denied the legality of the practice, and that only on account of “*the laws of the realm*,” is Archbishop Whitgift.

And that the statute and not the ecclesiastical law was the difficulty, *where any was felt*, we learn from a passage in Bishop Hall, who expressly tells us in a work published in 1641,—“The sticking at the admission of our brethren returning from Reformed Churches, was NOT IN CASE OF ORDINATION, but of Institution : THEY HAD BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED MINISTERS OF CHRIST, WITHOUT ANY OTHER HANDS LAID UPON THEM ; but according to the laws of our land, they were not *perhaps* capable of Institution to a benefice, unless they were so qualified as the Statutes of this realm do require. And, secondly, I know those, more than one, that by virtue only of that Ordination which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings, WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTION AGAINST THE LAWFULNESS OF THEIR CALLING.”<sup>2</sup>

Now this practice of our Church from the Reformation to the Restoration, is the strongest possible proof, that at least there was nothing in our Church’s Formularies *against* the validity of such Orders, but, on the contrary, enough in its favour to justify such a course. And if so, *à fortiori* our Church admitted their validity for ministering in *their own* communions.

True, as we have already observed, after the Restoration this was altered. The Act of Uniformity 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4, §§ 13, 14, requires, that all admitted to any “ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> KEBLE’S Pref. to Hooker, p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> BISHOP HALL’S Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, Sect. 14. Works, ed. Pratt, vol. 9. (pp. 690, 691.)

promotion or dignity whatsoever" in our Church, or to administer the Lord's Supper, should have had "Episcopal Ordination." And a clause of a similar kind was added in the Preface to the Ordination-Services; the words, "or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination," being inserted at that time.

But this could not affect the doctrine of our Church as previously laid down in the Articles. The Article declaring the doctrine of our Church on the subject of admission to the ministerial office remained the same as it was when ministers of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches were freely permitted to minister in our churches. But, the Episcopal form of church-government being established in our Church, it was very reasonably required by the Act, that all who held any "promotion" in it should have received Episcopal Ordination, and this especially at a time when the benefices of the Church had been filled by men attached to the Presbyterian form of church-government, and the Episcopalian ministers ejected from them. The state of things at the time shows the object which the Act had in view, as no attempt had been made previously to get such a law passed against the admission of ministers of Non-Episcopal Churches. And in the very next section of the Act (§ 15) we find a recognition of those communities as "the Foreign Reformed Churches." The fact that our Church requires all who hold office in her communion to be ordained according to that form of church-government which she has chosen to follow, proves nothing as to her doctrine on the abstract question of the validity of the Orders of Non-Episcopal Churches.

Once more; if it were the case, that our Church held all but Episcopal Ordinations to be invalid, and that only those who have been ordained by bishops are entitled to preach the word and administer both the sacraments, the whole Bench of Bishops have been for more than a century, if not at the present moment, involved in the guilt of acting directly contrary to the doctrine of the Church; for the missionaries sent out as ordained ministers by the Society for the Propagation of



the Gospel, which is under the especial direction of the Bench of Bishops, used to be for the most part only in Lutheran Orders;<sup>1</sup> and if the practice has been given up, its discontinuance must be of very recent date.

On these grounds, then, namely the witness of our early divines, the statements of our Formularies, and the practice of our Church, it is maintained as beyond all reasonable cavil, that our Church does not hold the doctrine of the exclusive validity of Episcopal Orders.

I quite admit, indeed, that, in that great alteration that gradually took place, subsequently to the reign of Elizabeth, in the tone of the doctrine practically held in our Church by many of her divines, there was a great change on this point as well as others.

We find Lord Bacon complaining, just at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, that some of the clergy denied the validity of the Orders conferred in the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches. He says, "Some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad; and that so far, as some of our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers."<sup>2</sup>

This is another proof, that men so ordained were allowed by public authority to minister in our Church; and also, no doubt, a proof that there had then arisen a school of divines among us that denied the validity of their Orders.

It has been with some reason supposed, that one of the first, if not the very first, to question the validity of the Orders of the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches was Laud. Certainly so early as 1604 he maintained this ground in the Divinity School at Oxford, and was accused by the Regius Professor of Divinity presiding on the occasion of supporting a new Popish and dangerous position; for, when proceeding in that year to his degree of B.D., "he maintained, there could be

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the Society, and Pearson's Life of Schwartz.

<sup>2</sup> Advertisement touch. the Controv. of the Church of Engl. Works, ii. 514. ed. 1819.



“no true Church without diocesan bishops, for which Dr. Holland, then Doctor of the Chair, *openly reprehended him in the Schools for a seditious person, who would unchurch the Reformed Protestant Churches beyond seas, and now sow division between us and them, who were brethren, by this NOVEL POPISH POSITION.*”<sup>1</sup> And this is confirmed by Heylin himself, who says,—“for which last [his position as to the necessity of bishops] he was shrewdly rattled by Dr. Holland above mentioned, as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of discord betwixt the Church of England and the Reformed Churches beyond the seas.”<sup>2</sup> Whether, however, he judged it expedient afterwards, to profess openly the same sentiments, I very much question, and am inclined to think he did not, as some of his statements are certainly inconsistent with such a notion. But I must add, that, like Mr. Newman, he well understood what “the circumstances of his position” required in such matters.

But, whatever might be the case with some hot-headed men in our Church, we do not find the *more eminent* divines even of that new school taking such ground. The utmost length to which they go, is to leave the question of the validity of such Ordinations doubtful, and decline the determination of it; always, as far as we can recollect, protesting against their having any notion of denying to the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches the character and essential privileges of Churches of Christ, however imperfectly constituted they might consider them to be.

Bishop Andrews, for instance, might perhaps have felt a difficulty with respect to much that our earlier divines had written upon the subject; but nevertheless he says, when speaking on the subject of the proper form of government for the Church, in his Letters, in 1618, to Du Moulin,—“And yet, though our government be by Divine right, it follows not, either that there is ‘no salvation,’ or that ‘a Church cannot stand without it.’ He must needs be stone blind, that sees not Churches standing without it: he must needs

<sup>1</sup> PRYNNE's Life of Laud, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> HEYLIN's Life of Laud, sub a. 1604.

“ be made of iron and hard-hearted, that denies them salvation. We are not made of that metal, we are none of those ironsides ; we put a wide difference betwixt them. Somewhat may be wanting that is of Divine right (at least in the external government), and yet salvation may be had . . . . This is not to damn anything, to *prefer a better thing before it* : this is not to damn your Church, to recall it to another form, that all antiquity was better pleased with, *i. e.* to ours : and this, when God shall grant the opportunity, and your estate may bear it.”<sup>1</sup>

After him, Archbishop Bramhall took the highest ground among the eminent divines of that day in favour of Episcopacy, but nevertheless was far from pronouncing all but Episcopal Orders invalid. Writing, in 1643, against the Separatists (as the Dissenters were then called), he says :—“ In a difference of ways, every pious and peaceable Christian, out of his discretion and care of his own salvation, will inquire which is ‘*via tutissima*’—‘the safest way.’ . . . And seeing there is required to the essence of a Church—first, a pastor ; secondly, a flock ; thirdly, a subordination of this flock to this pastor,—where we are not sure that there is right Ordination, what assurance have we that there is a Church ? [But then he immediately adds] *I write not this to prejudge our neighbour Churches.* I dare not limit the extraordinary operation of God’s Spirit, where ordinary means are wanting without the default of the persons. He gave His people manna for food whilst they were in the wilderness. Necessity is a strong plea. Many Protestant Churches lived under kings and bishops of another communion ; others had particular reasons why they could not continue or introduce bishops : but *it is not so with us* . . . . But the chief reason is, because I DO NOT MAKE THIS WAY TO BE SIMPLY NECESSARY, BUT ONLY SHEW WHAT IS SAFEST, where so many Christians are of another mind. I know, that there is *great difference between a VALID and a REGULAR Ordination* ; and what some choice divines do write of ease of necessity ; and for my part

<sup>1</sup> ANDREWS’ Second Lett. to Du Moulin. See Wordsw. Christ. Instit. vol. iii. p. 239.

“ am apt to believe, that God looks upon His people in mercy, with all their prejudices ; and that there is a *great latitude* left to particular Churches in the constitution of their ecclesiastical regiment, according to the exigence of time and place and persons, so as order and His own institution be observed.”<sup>1</sup>

Again, in another subsequent work (written about 1659,) he writes :—

“ I cannot assent to his minor proposition, that either all or any considerable part of the Episcopal divines in England do unchurch either all or the most part of the Protestant Churches. No man is hurt, but by himself. They unchurch none at all, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. They do not unchurch the Swedish, Danish, Bohemian Churches, and many other Churches in Polonia, Hungaria, and those parts of the world which have an ordinary uninterrupted succession of pastors, some by the names of Bishops, others under the name of Seniors, unto this day. (I meddle not with the Socinians.) They unchurch not the Lutheran Churches in Germany, who both assert Episcopacy in their confessions, and have actual superintendents in their practice, and would have bishops, name and thing, if it were in their power. Let him not mistake himself ; those Churches which he is so tender of, though they be better known to us by reason of their vicinity, are so far from being ‘ all or the most part of the Protestant Churches,’ that being all put together, they amount not to so great a proportion as the Britannie Churches alone. And if one secluded out of them all those who want an ordinary succession without their own faults, out of invincible ignorance or necessity, and all those who desire to have an ordinary succession, either explicitly or implicitly, they will be reduced to a little flock indeed. But let him set his heart at rest. I will remove this scruple out of his mind, that he may sleep securely upon both ears. *Episcopal divines do not deny* THOSE CHURCHES to be true Churches wherein sal-

<sup>1</sup> BRAMHALL'S *Serpent-Salve*, § 25. Works. Oxf. ed. vol. iii. pp. 475, 476.



"*vation may be had.* We advise them, as it is our duty, to  
 "be circumspect for themselves, and not to put it to more ques-  
 "tion, whether they have Ordination or not, or desert the  
 "general practice of the Universal Church for nothing, when  
 "they may clear it if they please. Their case is not the same  
 "with those who labour under invincible necessity. . . . Epis-  
 "copal divines will readily subscribe to the determination of  
 "the learned Bishop of Winchester [Andrews], in his Answer  
 "to the Second Epistle of Molineus [quoting the passage we  
 "have given above]. This mistake proceedeth from not dis-  
 "tinguishing between the true nature and essence of a Church,  
 "*which we do readily grant them,* and the integrity or perfec-  
 "tion of a Church, which we cannot grant them without  
 "swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church."<sup>1</sup>

And here we must not omit to notice, in passing, (what this last extract indicates, and is fully confirmed elsewhere in his Works,) that there is another material difference in his views from those of our modern Tractarians, namely, that what he *specially* contends for, is, a succession of pastors, not necessarily *bishops consecrated by bishops*, and that out of these pastors one should be appointed as president over the rest; and therefore he speaks favourably of the Lutheran Churches. He says elsewhere, expressly, of "most" of the Protestant Churches, "in High Germany," "all these have their bishops or superintendents, *which is all one*" . . . "three parts of  
 "four of the Protestant Churches have either bishops or  
 "superintendents, *which is all one.*"<sup>2</sup> He does not, therefore, insist so much upon a succession of bishops consecrated by bishops, as upon the adoption of the Episcopal form of government.

We may judge, then, from these passages of Bishop Andrews and Archbishop Bramhall, what would have been the feelings of the most eminent even of our High Church divines

<sup>1</sup> BRAMHALL'S *Vindic. of himself and the Episcopal Clergy*. c. 3. Works, vol. iii. pp. 517, 518. See also his *Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, Answ. to Pref. § 1. Works, iii. 25, 26; and c. 1. § 2. Ib. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> BRAMHALL'S *Serpent-Salve*. Works, iii. 480, 485.



respecting the language adopted on this subject by the Tractarian school.

And these two, Bp. Andrews and Abp. Bramhall, are two more of the divines quoted by our opponents in their "*Catena*" on this subject as agreeing with them, and are perhaps as "high" in their notions on the subject as almost any they could cite, with the exception of the Non-jurors, of whom their list of course contains a tolerably large proportion, but who on account of their views on this very subject were called by our learned Archbishop Wake, "*furiosi scriptores*."

To the Divines of our Church already mentioned as opposing the views of the Tractators, it would be easy to add largely; but I shall content myself with extracts from a few others of acknowledged reputation among them, whom I quote as unexceptionable representatives of the great body of their brethren.

First, let us take the testimony of Dr. John Bridges, then (1587) Dean of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Oxford. He, as we shall see, agrees with Archbishop Whitgift, that the form of church-government is a matter left to the discretion of each Church. He carries this view indeed to a point to which I could not follow him, but yet he was one of the most able and distinguished prelates of that period.

With respect to the question of *Order* in the case of bishops and priests, he expressly maintains, that bishops are superiors, "*not in the office of their Order*, yet in the office of their dignity;"<sup>1</sup> and he speaks of the Episcopal state as "a high calling, not so much of superior dignity, as of superior charge in governing of God's Church."<sup>2</sup>

And on the subject of the Episcopal government of the Church, opposing the notion of the Puritans, against whom he was writing, that one certain form only was allowable,—he writes thus:—"If now, on the other side, this be not a matter of necessity, but such as may be varied, being but a form and manner of Ecclesiastical government, as the observation of this feast and these fasts were of accustomed order, not of necessity; then, so long as it is used in mode-

<sup>1</sup> BRIDGES' Defence of the Government established in the Church of England. 1587. 4to. p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 288.

“rate sort, without tyranny or pride, nor anything contrary  
 “to the proportion of faith and godliness of life necessarily  
 “maintained thereby, (for otherwise, if those fasts or this  
 “feast had been used to be kept superstitiously, it had been  
 “so far forth to be condemned,) there is no reason why we  
 “should break the bond of peace, and make such trouble in  
 “the Church of God, to reject the government *that in the*  
 “*nature thereof is as much indifferent as the solemnizing this or*  
 “*that day the memorial of the Lord’s resurrection.* And yet  
 “we celebrate the same on the Sunday only, as those Bishops  
 “of Rome at that time did. Which I hope we do without  
 “all offence, though we have no precept in Scripture for it.  
 “And therefore, as Polycarpus and Anicetus, differing in that  
 “point, notwithstanding did not violate the peace and unity  
 “of the Church, so, according to Irenæus’ rule, while no  
 “such excessive superiority is maintained of us, as the Pope  
 “since that time hath usurped, but such as we find practised  
 “in the Primitive Church and in the very Apostles’ age, *we*  
 “*ought neither to condemn, or speak, or think evil of other good*  
 “*Churches that use another Ecclesiastical government than we*  
 “*do*; neither ought they to do the like of ours. Not that  
 “every person *in one and the same Church* should use this  
 “liberty of difference, without controlment and restraint of  
 “the superior in that church wherein he liveth. For, though  
 “it were lawful for one Church to differ from another, being  
 “not so tied to uniformity, as to unity; yet is it not meet for  
 “one Church to differ from itself; but to be both in unity,  
 “and be ruled also by uniformity. Especially where law  
 “binds them to obedience.”<sup>1</sup>

Next, I would refer the reader to Dean Sutcliffe, who  
 flourished at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and who in  
 his day was a “High Church” divine. In his work “On the  
 true Church of Christ,” published in 1600, he thus speaks:—

“Men that belong to the Church are seen in ecclesiastical  
 “communities, and we understand such men to be a true  
 “Church of Christ from the right preaching of the Word, and

<sup>1</sup> Ib. pp. 319, 320.

“ the due administration of the Sacraments, and Christian worship. And therefore the Church of Jerusalem and Antioch and Rome, and other Churches that formerly existed, we call Churches of Christ; and the Anglican Church, and *the German and French and Scotch* and other Churches, associated with us in the communion of faith, we doubt not to be true Churches, and to belong to the Catholic or Universal Church.”<sup>1</sup>

“ He [that is, Stapleton,] asserts, tenthly, that we [meaning by ‘we,’ *the Protestant Churches,*] are destitute of the succession. And he thinks that we are terribly pressed by this argument; but without reason. For, *the external Succession, which both heretics often have and the orthodox have not, is of NO MOMENT.* Not even our adversaries themselves, indeed, are certain respecting their own Succession, which they so greatly boast of. But we are certain, that our doctors have succeeded to the apostles, and prophets, and most antient Fathers. And moreover, *if there is any weight in external Succession,* they have succeeded to the bishops and presbyters throughout Germany, France, England, and other countries, and were ordained by them. They have succeeded, also, as it respects doctrine, to those pious men, who, amidst the darkness of the Papal synagogue beheld the light, and boldly preached against its corruptions.”<sup>2</sup>

And the very title of his last Chapter is, “That the Church

<sup>1</sup> “Homines qui pertinent ad ecclesiam in cœtibus ecclesiasticis videntur: et hujusmodi nos homines ex verbi recta prædicatione et legitima sacramentorum administratione et cultu Christiano veram esse Christi ecclesiam intelligimus. Ideoque et ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam et Antiochenam et Romanam aliasque ecclesias quæ olim fuerunt, vocamus Christi ecclesias, et ecclesiam Anglicanam et Germanicam et Gallicam et Scoticam reliquasque nobis communione fidei sociatas, non dubitamus veras esse, et ad catholicam seu universalem ecclesiam pertinere.” SUTCLIV. De Vera Eccles. Lond. 1600. 4to. fol. 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> “Asserit decimo nos successione carere. Atque hoc argumento nos graviter torqueri putat; sed falso. Nam in externa successione, quam et hæretici sæpe habent, et orthodoxi non habent, nihil est momenti. Ne ipsi quidem adversarii de sua successione, quam tantopere jactant, certi sunt. At nos certi sumus, doctores nostros Apostolis et Prophetis et Patribus antiquissimis successisse. Idem etiam, si quid sit in externa successione ponderis, episcopis et



“ of England and the other Churches communicating with it  
 “ in Germany, France, Holland, Scotland, and other countries,  
 “ are the true and orthodox Church of Christ.”<sup>1</sup>

And he altogether rejects the idea of the Episcopal Succession being a necessary note of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

“ I have ever declared my opinion to be,” says Archbishop Usher at the close of his life, “ that *episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt non ordine*, and consequently that in  
 “ places where bishops cannot be had, the Ordination by pres-  
 “ byters standeth valid, yet on the other side, holding as I do  
 “ that a bishop hath superiority in degree above a presbyter,  
 “ you may easily judge, that the Ordination made by such  
 “ presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops  
 “ unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience cannot pos-  
 “ sibly by me be excused from being schismatical. And how-  
 “ soever I must needs think, that the Churches which have  
 “ no bishops are thereby become very much defective in their  
 “ government, and that the Churches in France, who, living  
 “ under a Popish power, cannot do what they would, are more  
 “ excusable in this defect than the Low Countries that live under  
 “ a free State, yet for the testifying *my communion with those*  
 “ *Churches, which I do love and honour as true members of the*  
 “ *Church Universal, I do profess that with like affection I should*  
 “ *receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch minis-*  
 “ *ters if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the*  
 “ *French ministers if I were in Charentone.*”<sup>3</sup> And who, I ask,  
 of all our divines is more worthy to be listened to on such a  
 point than Archbishop Usher?

So, also, our learned Bishop Davenant :—“ In a disordered  
 presbyteris per Germaniam, Galliam, Angliam, aliasque regiones successerunt,  
 et ab eis ordinati sunt. Successerunt etiam quorundam doctrinam piis illis viris,  
 qui in tenebris Synagoge Pontificie lucem aspexerunt, et contra ejus corrupte-  
 las fortiter prædicarunt.” Id. ib. fol. 123.

<sup>1</sup> “ Ecclesiam Anglicanam aliasque [*misprinted* aliosque] cum ea in Germania,  
 Gallia, Belgio, Scotia, aliisque regionibus communicantes veram et orthodoxam  
 esse Christi ecclesiam.” Id. ib. fol. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ib. fol. 76—78.

<sup>3</sup> Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, &c., ed. by Dr. Burnet.  
 1657. pp. 125—7.



“ Church, where all the bishops have fallen into heresy or  
 “ idolatry, where they have refused to ordain orthodox minis-  
 “ ters, where they have considered those only who are asso-  
 “ ciates of their faction and error to be worthy of holy Orders,  
 “ if orthodox presbyters (for the preservation of the Church)  
 “ are compelled to ordain other presbyters, I could not ven-  
 “ ture to pronounce such Ordinations useless and invalid.”  
 And this he proceeds to apply to the case of certain Protestant Churches.<sup>1</sup>

And in his Letter to Mr. Dury, on promoting peace among the Protestant Churches, he says:—“ Moreover I doubt not  
 “ at all but that the Saxon and Helvetian Churches, and  
 “ others which either consent with these, or those, acknow-  
 “ ledge themselves to have, and to desire to retain, brotherly  
 “ communion with the English, Scottish, Irish, and other Foreign  
 “ Reformed Churches. Surely as concerning us, although we  
 “ consent not with them in all points and titles of controver-  
 “ sial divinity, yet we acknowledge them brethren in Christ,  
 “ and protest ourselves to have a brotherly and holy commu-  
 “ nion with them.”<sup>2</sup>

One of the most eminent and able divines of our Church was Bishop Morton, of the 17th century, bishop successively of Chester, Lichfield, and Durham. And thus he speaks:—  
 “ Where the bishops degenerate into wolves, there the pres-  
 “ byters regain their *antient right of ordaining* (consecrandi).  
 “ I call it antient, because that the Episcopate and the  
 “ Presbyterate are, *jure divino*, the same, is laid down by  
 “ Marsilius, Gratian, &c.”<sup>3</sup>

Another able prelate of our Church at this period, and a strenuous defender of Episcopacy, was Dr. George Downham. But in a sermon on this subject, after having undertaken to shew the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy in the sense of being an apostolical institution, he guards himself against being sup-

<sup>1</sup> DAVENANT. Determ. quæst. &c. Cant. 1634. fol. q. 42. p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Prefixed to his “Exhort. to broth. comm. betwixt the Protestant Churches. Lond. 1641.” 12mo. p. 33. See also the Treatise following it.

<sup>3</sup> MORTON. Apol. Cathol. P. 1. lib. 1. c. 21. ed. 2nda, Lond. 1606. 8vo. p. 74.

posed to take the ground which the Puritans took in behalf of their platform of church-government, namely, that because it was to be found in the Scriptures, therefore it was “perpetually and unchangeably necessary in all Churches,” remarking:—“Although we be well assured, that the form of “government by bishops is the best, as having not only the “warrant of Scripture for the first institution, but also the “perpetual practice of the Church from the apostles’ time to “our age for the continuance of it; notwithstanding we “doubt not, but where this may not be had, others may “be admitted; neither do we deny, but that silver is good, “though gold be better.”<sup>1</sup>

And in his Defence of this sermon, referring to this passage, he says:—“Which objection and answer I inserted of purpose into the sermon to preserve the credit of those Reformed Churches where the Presbyterian discipline is established, and that they might not be exposed or left naked to the obloquies of the Papists.”<sup>2</sup>

And expressly on the point of Ordination he says:—“Thus “have I reported the judgment of the antient Church “ascribing the ordinary right of Ordination to bishops, but “yet, not so appropriating it unto them as that extraordinarily “and in case of necessity it might not be lawful for presbyters to ordain; and much less teaching (as the Papists “imagine) absolutely a nullity in the Ordination which is not “performed by a bishop. For suppose a Church (the state of “some Reformed Churches) either altogether destitute of a “bishop, or pestered with such as the Popish prelates are, “heretical and idolatrous, by whom no orthodoxal ministers “might hope to be ordained, we need not doubt, but that the “antient Fathers would, in such a case of necessity, have “allowed Ordination without a bishop, though not as regular, “according to the rules of ordinary church-government, yet as “effectual and as justifiable in the want of a bishop.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DOWNHAM'S Sermon at Consecr. of Bp. of Bath and Wells, 1608. 4to. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Def. of Sermon. &c. 1611. 4to. lib. 4. c. 7. pp. 145, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Sermon. pp. 42, 43.

Another eminent divine of our Church was Dr. Crakanthorp, and he likewise justifies the Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches in this matter on the ground of necessity; and as it respects their not taking the first opportunity of restoring the Episcopal form of government, only remarks:—"We heartily wish indeed, that since that law of necessity is now removed, all the Churches may desire to return to the antient order and mode of ordaining most constantly observed by the Universal Church, and restore to the bishops their keys; but we wish, we do not compel. We neither have nor desire to have power and dominion over their churches."<sup>1</sup> And he expressly maintains their cause as that of orthodox Churches, and asserts that we are in communion with them.<sup>2</sup>

But one of the most important testimonies as to the doctrine of our Church and her most able divines on this subject, is that of Bishop Cosin, to which we have already referred. It occurs in a letter written from Paris in 1650 to a Mr. Cordel, who scrupled to communicate with the French Protestants. To the objection of Mr. Cordel, that "they have no priests," Dr. Cosin thus replies:—"Though we may safely say and maintain it, that their ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be by those prelates and bishops of the Church who since the Apostles' time have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest, yet that, by reason of this defect, there is a *total nullity in their Ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests and ministers among them; for my part, I would be loth to affirm and determine it against them.* And these are my reasons. First: I conceive that the power of Ordination

<sup>1</sup> "Optamus quidem ex animo, ut cum lex illa necessitatis jam ablata sit, velint et omnes Ecclesie ad priscum et ab universali Ecclesia constantissime observatum ordinem et ordinandi modum redire; clavesque suas Episcopis restituant: *sed optamus, non cogimus. Jus et imperium in eorum Ecclesias nec habemus nos, nec desideramus.*" CRAKANTHORP. Defens. Eccles. Anglic. Lond. 1625. 4to. c. 41. § 12. pp. 246, 247.

<sup>2</sup> See ib. c. 43. pp. 253 et seq.

“ was restrained to bishops rather by apostolical practice and  
“ the perpetual custom and canons of the Church, than by  
“ any absolute precept that either Christ or his apostles gave  
“ about it. Nor can I yet meet with any convincing argu-  
“ ment to set it upon a more high and divine institution.  
“ From which customs and laws of the Universal Church  
“ (therein following the example of the Apostles) though I  
“ reckon it to be a great presumption and fault for any par-  
“ ticular Church to recede, and may truly say that *fieri non*  
“ *oportuit* (when the college of mere presbyters shall ordain  
“ and make a priest), yet I cannot so peremptorily say, that  
“ *factum non valet*, and pronounce the Ordination to be utterly  
“ void. For as in the case of baptism, we take just exception  
“ against a layman or a woman that presumes to give it, and  
“ may as justly punish them by the censures of the Church  
“ wherein they live, for taking upon them to do that office,  
“ which was never committed unto them ; yet, if once they  
“ have done it, we make not their act and administration of  
“ baptism void ; nor *presume we to iterate the sacrament after*  
“ *them ; so may it well be in the case of Ordination, and the*  
“ *ministers of the Reformed Congregations in France ;* who are  
“ liable to give an account both to God and his Church in  
“ general, for taking upon them to exercise that power which  
“ by the perpetual practice and laws of His Church they  
“ were never permitted to exercise, and may justly be faulted  
“ for it, both by the verdict of all others who are members  
“ of the Catholic Church (as we are that adhere to the laws  
“ of it more strictly and peaceably than they do), and by the  
“ censures of a lawful meeting or general council in that  
“ Church, which at any time shall come to have authority  
“ over them. And yet all this while, the act which they do,  
“ though it be disorderly done, and the Ordinations which  
“ they make, though they make them unlawfully, *shall not be*  
“ *altogether null and invalid*, no more than the act of baptizing  
“ before mentioned, or the act of consecrating and adminis-  
“ tering the Eucharist by a priest that is suspended and  
“ restrained from exercising his power and office in the



“ Church. Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained  
 “ in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in  
 “ ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among  
 “ us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of  
 “ them to have so done of late, and can instance in many  
 “ other before my time,) our bishops did not re-ordain him  
 “ before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have  
 “ done, if his former Ordination here in France had been  
 “ void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to  
 “ declare his public consent to the religion received amongst  
 “ us, and to subscribe the Articles established. And I love  
 “ not to be herein more wise or harder than our own Church  
 “ is, which, because it hath never publicly condemned and pro-  
 “ nounced the Ordinations of the other Reformed Churches  
 “ to be void, as it doth not those of the unreformed Churches,  
 “ neither among the Papists (though I hear that the ministers  
 “ here in France and Geneva use so to do, who will not admit  
 “ a Papist priest himself to exercise the office of a minister  
 “ among them till they have re-ordained him) ; for my part,  
 “ as to that particular, *I dare not take upon me to condemn or*  
 “ *determine a nullity of their own Ordinations against them ;*  
 “ though in the interim I take it to be utterly a fault among  
 “ them, and a great presumption, deserving a great censure  
 “ to be inflicted on them, by such a power of the Church as  
 “ may, by the grace of God, be at any time duly gathered  
 “ together hereafter against them, as well for the amendment  
 “ of many other disorders and defects in their Church, as  
 “ for this particular inordinate Ordination and defect of  
 “ Episcopacy amongst them. Besides that this their bold-  
 “ ness, presumption, and novelty (in setting up themselves  
 “ without any invincible necessity that they had so to  
 “ do, against the apostolical practice and perpetual order of  
 “ God’s Church till their days) was always faulted, and  
 “ reserved for further censure, in due time, which they have  
 “ justly merited. Secondly.<sup>1</sup> There have been both learned

<sup>1</sup> I have taken the liberty of making the second reason commence here (as  
 it evidently does), instead of at the beginning of the previous sentence.

“ and eminent men (as well in former ages as in this, and even  
 “ among the Roman Catholics as well as Protestants,) who  
 “ have held and maintained it for good and passable divinity,  
 “ that presbyters have the intrinsical power of Ordination *in*  
 “ *actu primo*; though for the avoiding of schism (as St.  
 “ Hierom speaks) and preserving order and discipline in the  
 “ Church, they have been restrained ever since the first times,  
 “ and still are, (but where they take a liberty to themselves  
 “ that was never duly given them,) from exercising their  
 “ power *in actu secundo*; and therefore that however their act  
 “ of ordaining of other presbyters shall be void, according to  
 “ the strictness of the canon, (in regard they were universally  
 “ prohibited from executing that act, and breaking the order  
 “ and discipline of the Church,) yet that the same act shall  
 “ not be simply void in the nature of the thing, in regard that  
 “ intrinsical power remained, when the exercise of it was sus-  
 “ pended and taken from them. Of this opinion and judg-  
 “ ment in old time were *St. Hierom* and his followers, alleged  
 “ by *Gratian*, dist. 93; and of later times, *the Master of the*  
 “ *Sentences*, lib. iv. dist. 24. *Bonavent.* ibid. 9. 3. Art. 2;  
 “ with other schoolmen, as *Aureol.* ibid. Art. 2; and *Anton.*  
 “ *de Rosellis*, De Potest. Imper. et Papali, Part iv. c. 18; and  
 “ in this later age, not only *Armachanus* in Sum. ad quæst.  
 “ Art. 1. 11. c. 2, 3, &c. and c. 7. *Alphons. a Castro*  
 “ (verb. *Episcopus*), *Mich. Medina*, De sacr. hom. orig.  
 “ lib. 1. c. 5, among the Roman Catholics; but like-  
 “ wise *Cassander* in Consult. Art. 14, besides *Melanc-*  
 “ *thon*, *Clementius* [*? Chemnitius*], *Gerardus*, and *Calixtus*,  
 “ amongst the Protestants; and Bishop *Jewel* (Def. 2. p.  
 “ c. 3. d. 1, &c. 9. div. 1); Dr. *Field*, Of the Church, lib. 3.  
 “ c. 39; *Hooker*, Eccles. Pol. lib. 3. § 3 ult., and *Mason*,  
 “ among the divines of our own Church. All which authors  
 “ are of so great credit with you and me, that though we  
 “ are not altogether of their mind, yet we would be loth to let  
 “ the world see that we contradict them all, and condemn their  
 “ judgment openly; *as needs we must, if we hold the contrary*,  
 “ and say, that the ministers of the Reformed French Churches,

"for want of Episcopal Ordination, have no Order at all." [The reader will observe here what the view of Bishop Cosin was, as to the sentiments of Jewel, Hooker, Field, and Mason.]

Dr. Cosin adds several other reasons, with which, however, we need not trouble our readers, except the following :—  
 "If the Church and kingdom of England have acknowledged them (as they did in admitting of them when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them by public authority in divers of the most eminent cities among us, without prohibition to any of our own people to go and communicate with them), why should we, that are but private persons, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country?"

And therefore he concludes that,—"*Considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it (as there is against our communicating with the Papists, and that well-grounded upon the Scripture and will of God), I do not see but that both you, and others that are with you, may (either in case of necessity, when you cannot have the sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do,) go otherwhiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church.*"<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, in a work entitled "*Dr. Cosin's opinion when Dean of Peterborough and in exile for communicating rather with Geneva than Rome,*"<sup>2</sup> we have a letter written to a friend here during his exile, in which he says, "It is far less safe to join with these men that alter the *credenda*, the vitals of religion [alluding to the Romanists], than with those that meddle only with the *agenda* and *rules* of religion, if they meddle no further . . . . They of Geneva are to blame in many things and defective in some; they shall never have my approbation of their doings, nor let them have yours, yet I do not see that they have set up any new articles of faith under pain of damnation to all the world that will not

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this letter is given by Basire and Bp. Fleetwood (as referred to above).

<sup>2</sup> Published by Dr. R. Watson. Lond. 1684. 8vo.

“ receive them for such articles, and you know whose case that is.” (pp. 3, 4.) And in his last Will he says,—“ Wherever in the whole world Churches reckoned as Christian Churches profess the true, antient, and catholic religion and faith, and with one mouth and mind adore and worship God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, with such, though distance, or the disagreements of mankind, or any other obstacle, may ever prevent my actually holding communion (jungi) with them, yet in heart, mind, and affection, I shall always be united and form one (conjungor ac coalesco); which I wish especially to be understood of the Protestant and well-reformed Churches.”<sup>1</sup>

Still more clearly and fully speaks the learned Dean Field, in his celebrated work “Of the Church.” “The next thing to be examined,” he says, “is, whether the power of Ordination be so essentially annexed to the Order of bishops, that none but bishops may in any case ordain. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that the whole ecclesiastical power is aptly divided into the power of *Order* and *Jurisdiction* . . . The power of holy or ecclesiastical *Order* is nothing else but that power which is specially given to men sanctified and set apart from others to perform certain sacred, supernatural, and eminent actions, which others of another rank may not at all or not ordinarily meddle with: as to preach the word, administer the sacraments, and the like. The next kind of ecclesiastical power is that of *Jurisdiction*. For the more distinct and full understanding whereof, we must note that three things are implied in the calling of ecclesiastical ministers. First, an election, choice or designment of persons fit for so high and excellent employment. Secondly, the consecrating of them and giving them power and authority to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God . . . . Thirdly, the assigning and dividing out to each man thus sanctified to so excellent a work, that portion of God’s people which he is to take care of, who

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the Preface to his “Regni Angliæ Religio et Gubern. Eccles.” Lond. 1729. 4to. p. ii.



“ must be directed by him in things that pertain to the  
“ hope of eternal salvation. This particular assignation giveth  
“ to them that had only the power of Order before the power  
“ of Jurisdiction also over the persons of men. Thus, then, it  
“ is necessary that the people of God be sorted into several  
“ portions, and the sheep of Christ divided into several flocks,  
“ for the more orderly guiding of them . . . . The Apostles  
“ of Christ and their successors, when they planted the  
“ Churches, so divided the people of God converted by their  
“ ministry into particular Churches, that each city and the  
“ places near adjoining did make but one Church. Now, be-  
“ cause the unity and peace of each particular Church of God,  
“ and flock of his sheep, dependeth on the unity of the pastor,  
“ and yet the necessities of the many duties that are to be  
“ performed in Churches of so large extent require more  
“ ecclesiastical ministers than one, therefore, though there be  
“ many presbyters, that is, many fatherly guides of one  
“ Church, yet there is *one amongst the rest* that is specially  
“ pastor of the place, who *for distinction sake is named a bishop* ;  
“ to whom an eminent and peerless power is given for the  
“ avoiding of schisms and factions ; and the rest are but his  
“ assistants and coadjutors, and named by the general name of  
“ presbyters. So that, in the performance of the acts of  
“ ecclesiastical ministry, when he is present and will do them  
“ himself, they must give place, and in his absence, or when  
“ being present he needeth assistance, they may do nothing  
“ without his consent and liking. Yea, so far, for order’s  
“ sake, is he preferred before the rest, that some things are  
“ specially reserved to him only, as the ordaining of such as  
“ should assist him in the work of his ministry, the reconciling  
“ of penitents, confirmation of such as were baptized by im-  
“ position of hands, dedication of churches, and such like.  
“ These being the divers sorts and kinds of ecclesiastical  
“ power, it will easily appear to all them that enter into the  
“ due consideration thereof, that the power of ecclesiastical or  
“ sacred Order, that is, the power and authority to intermeddle  
“ with things pertaining to the service of God, and to perform

“ eminent acts of gracious efficacy, tending to the procuring of  
 “ the eternal good of the sons of men, *is equal and the same*  
 “ *in all those whom we call presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of*  
 “ *God’s Church and people ; and that ONLY FOR ORDER’S SAKE,*  
 “ *and the preservation of peace, there is a limitation of the use*  
 “ *and exercise of the same.* Hereunto agree all the best learned  
 “ amongst the Romanists themselves, freely confessing, that  
 “ that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter is not a distinct  
 “ and higher Order or power of Order, but a kind of dignity  
 “ and office or imployment only. Which they prove because a  
 “ presbyter ordained *per saltum*, that never was consecrated or  
 “ ordained deacon, may notwithstanding do all those acts that  
 “ pertain to the deacon’s Order, because the higher Order doth  
 “ always imply in it the lower and inferior in an eminent and  
 “ excellent sort. But a bishop ordained *per saltum*, that never  
 “ had the ordination of a presbyter, can neither consecrate and  
 “ administer the sacrament of the Lord’s body, nor ordain a  
 “ presbyter, himself being none, nor do any act peculiarly per-  
 “ taining to presbyters. Whereby it is most evident, that that  
 “ wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter, is not a distinct  
 “ power of Order, but an eminency and dignity only, specially  
 “ yielded to one above all the rest of the same rank for order  
 “ sake, and to preserve the unity and peace of the Church.  
 “ Hence it followeth, that many things, which in some  
 “ cases presbyters may lawfully do, are peculiarly reserved  
 “ unto bishops, as Hierome noteth, (*Contra Luciferianos*)  
 “ *rather for the honour of their ministry than the necessity of*  
 “ *any law.* And therefore we read, (Greg. Januario, Ep. l. 3.  
 “ indict. 12. epist. 26.) that presbyters in some places, and  
 “ at some times, did impose hands and confirm such as  
 “ were baptized, which when Gregory Bishop of Rome would  
 “ wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken  
 “ to him for it, that he left it free again. And who knoweth  
 “ not, that all presbyters, in cases of necessity, may absolve  
 “ and reconcile penitents (Carth. 3. can. 32), a thing in ordinary  
 “ course appropriated unto bishops? And why not by the  
 “ same reason ordain presbyters and deacons in cases of like

“ necessity ? For, seeing the cause why they are forbidden to  
“ do these acts, is, because to bishops ordinarily the care of all  
“ Churches is committed, and to them in all reason the Ordi-  
“ nation of such as must serve in the Church pertaineth that  
“ have the chief care of the Church, and have Churches wherein  
“ to imploy them ; which only bishops have as long as they  
“ retain their standing, and not presbyters, being but assist-  
“ ants to bishops in their Churches ; if they become enemies  
“ to God and true religion, in case of such necessity, as the  
“ care and government of the Church is devolved to the pres-  
“ byters remaining catholic and being of a better spirit, so the  
“ duty of ordaining such as are to assist or succeed them  
“ in the work of the ministry pertains to them likewise. For  
“ if the power of Order and authority to intermeddle in things  
“ pertaining to God’s service be the same in all presbyters,  
“ and that they be limited in the execution of it only for order  
“ sake, so that in case of necessity every of them may baptize  
“ and confirm them whom they have baptized, absolve and  
“ reconcile penitents, and do all those other acts which regu-  
“ larly are appropriated unto the bishop alone, there is no  
“ reason to be given but that in case of necessity, wherein all  
“ bishops were extinguished by death, or being fallen into  
“ heresy should refuse to ordain any to serve God in his true  
“ worship, but that presbyters, as they may do all other acts,  
“ whatsoever special challenge bishops in ordinary course  
“ make unto them, might do this also. Who, then, dare  
“ condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were  
“ ordained by presbyters in sundry Churches of the world, at  
“ such times as bishops in those parts where they lived opposed  
“ themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as  
“ professed it ? Surely the best learned in the Church of  
“ Rome in former times durst not pronounce all Ordinations of  
“ this nature to be void. For not only Armachanus, a very  
“ learned and worthy bishop, but, as it appeareth by Alexander  
“ of Hales, many learned men in his time and before were of  
“ opinion, that in some cases and at some times presbyters  
“ may give Orders, and that their Ordinations are of force,

“ though to do so, not being urged by extreme necessity,  
 “ cannot be excused from over great boldness and presumption  
 “ . . . All that may be alleged out of the Fathers for proof of  
 “ the contrary may be reduced to two heads. For, first,  
 “ whereas they make all such Ordinations void as are made by  
 “ presbyters, it is to be understood according to the strictness  
 “ of the canons in use in their time, and not absolutely in the  
 “ nature of the thing, which appears in that they likewise  
 “ make all Ordinations *sine titulo* to be void ; all Ordinations of  
 “ bishops ordained by fewer than three bishops with the metro-  
 “ politan ; all Ordinations of presbyters by bishops out of their  
 “ own Churches without special leave ; whereas I am well  
 “ assured, the Romanists will not pronounce any of these to be  
 “ void, though the parties so doing are not excusable from all  
 “ fault. Secondly, their sayings are to be understood regu-  
 “ larly not without exception of some special cases that may  
 “ fall out.”<sup>1</sup>

In a subsequent part of his work he reverts to the same subject, and adds the following remarks :—“ Touching the  
 “ pre-eminence of bishops above presbyters, there is some  
 “ difference among the School-divines. For, the best learned  
 “ amongst them are of opinion, that bishops are not greater  
 “ than presbyters in the power of Consecration or Order : but  
 “ only in the exercise of it, and in the power of Jurisdiction,  
 “ seeing presbyters may preach, and minister the greatest of  
 “ all sacraments, by virtue of their Consecration and Order, as  
 “ well as bishops. Touching the power of Consecration  
 “ or Order, saith Durandus (in 4 Sent. dist. 24. q. 5.), it is  
 “ much doubted of among divines, whether any be greater  
 “ therein than an ordinary presbyter : for Hierome seemeth  
 “ to have been of opinion, that the highest power of Consecra-  
 “ tion or Order is the power of a priest or elder ; so that  
 “ every priest in respect of his priestly power may minister  
 “ all sacraments, confirm the baptized, *give all Orders*, all  
 “ blessings and consecrations ; but that for the avoiding of the  
 “ peril of schism, it was ordained that one should be chosen,

<sup>1</sup> FIELD, Of the Church, bk. iii. c. 39. pp. 155—8.



“ who should be named a bishop, to whom the rest should  
 “ obey, and to whom it was reserved to give Orders, and to do  
 “ some such other things as none but bishops do. And after-  
 “ wards he saith, that Hierome is clearly of this opinion ; not  
 “ making the distinction of bishops from presbyters a mere  
 “ human invention, or a thing not necessary, as *Acrius* did ;  
 “ but thinking that amongst them who are equal in the power  
 “ of Order, and equally enabled to do any sacred act, the  
 “ Apostles (for the avoiding of schism and confusion, and the  
 “ preservation of unity, peace and order) ordained that in each  
 “ Church one should be before and above the rest, without  
 “ whom the rest should do nothing, and to whom some things  
 “ should be peculiarly reserved, as the dedicating of churches,  
 “ reconciling of penitents, confirming of the baptized, and the  
 “ Ordination of such as are to serve in the work of the  
 “ Ministry : of which the three former were reserved to the  
 “ bishop alone, *potius ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam ad legis*  
 “ *necessitatem* ; that is, rather to honour his priestly and  
 “ bishoply place, than for that those things at all may not be  
 “ done by any other. And therefore we read, (*Ambros. in*  
 “ *4 ad Ephes.*) that at some times, and in some cases of neces-  
 “ sity, presbyters did reconcile penitents, and by imposition  
 “ of hands confirm the baptized. But the ordaining of men  
 “ to serve in the work of the ministry is more properly  
 “ reserved to them. For, seeing none are to be ordained at  
 “ random, but to serve in some church, and none have  
 “ churches but bishops, all other being but assistants to them  
 “ in their churches, none may ordain but they only, unless it  
 “ be in cases of extreme necessity, as when all bishops are ex-  
 “ tinguished by death, or, fallen into heresy, obstinately refuse  
 “ to ordain men to preach the Gospel of Christ sincerely.  
 “ And then as the care and charge of the Church is devolved  
 “ to the presbyters remaining Catholic, so likewise the ordain-  
 “ ing of men to assist them and succeed them in the work of  
 “ the ministry. But hereof I have spoken at large elsewhere.  
 “ Wherefore to conclude this point, we see that the best  
 “ learned amongst the Schoolmen are of opinion, that *bishops*

“ are no greater than presbyters in the power of Consecration or  
 “ Order, but only in the exercise of it, and in the power of Juris-  
 “ diction, with whom Stapleton (Relect. Contro. 2. q. 3. art. 3.)  
 “ seemeth to agree, saying expressly, that, *Quoad ordinem*  
 “ *sacerdotalem, et ea quæ sunt ordinis*, that is, in respect of  
 “ sacerdotal Order, and the things that pertain to Order, they are  
 “ EQUAL; and that therefore in all administration of sacra-  
 “ ments which depend of Order, they are *all equal* POTESTATE,  
 “ though not EXERCITIO; that is, in power, though not in the  
 “ execution of things to be done by virtue of that power.  
 “ Whence it will follow, that Ordination, being a kind of  
 “ sacrament, and so depending of the power of Order, in the  
 “ judgment of our adversaries might be ministered by presby-  
 “ ters, but that for the avoiding of such horrible confusions,  
 “ scandals, and schisms, as would follow upon such promis-  
 “ cuous Ordinations, they are restrained by the decree of the  
 “ Apostles; and none permitted to do any such thing, except  
 “ it be in case of extreme necessity, but bishops, who *have the*  
 “ *power of Order in common together with presbyters*, but yet so,  
 “ as that they excel them *in the execution of things to be done*  
 “ *by virtue of that power*, and in the power of Jurisdiction  
 “ also.”

And he then proceeds to animadvert upon Bellarmine's opposite view on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will observe, then, that the ground here taken by Dean Field is, that a presbyter at his Ordination receives full power to perform all the functions of the divine ministry and service, all sacred acts of whatever kind, the exercise of which power however is to be regulated by the situation in which he may be placed in the Church. Hence it is said, that a presbyter and a bishop do not differ in Order but only in office, which, notwithstanding it has been cavilled at as an unmeaning and nugatory distinction, appears to me a very intelligible and useful one.

Similar testimonies might be adduced to almost any extent, but I will only add here a few more from some of our more modern divines.

<sup>1</sup> Ib. bk. 5. c. 27. pp. 500, 501.

"I do allow episcopacy," says Dean Sherlock, "to be an Apostolical institution, and the truly antient and catholic government of the Church, of which more hereafter; but yet in this very book I prove industriously and at large, that, in case of necessity, when bishops cannot be had, a Church may be a *truly Catholic Church*, and such as we may and ought to communicate with, *without bishops*, in vindication of some Foreign Reformed Churches who have none, and therefore I do not make episcopacy so absolutely necessary to catholic communion as to unchurch all Churches which have it not."<sup>1</sup> "The Church of England does not deny, but that in case of necessity the Ordination of presbyters may be valid."<sup>2</sup>

Our learned Bingham—the most deeply versed in ecclesiastical antiquity, perhaps, of any of our divines—so little agreed with our opponents, that after quoting the 19th Article, and stating that none of our divines object to it on account of its not mentioning "bishops or their government," he adds,— "For in all their disputes with the Papists, they never require more than *these two* notes of the Church. They say with Bishop Andrews, 'that though Episcopal government be of Divine institution, yet it is not so absolutely necessary as that there can be no Church, nor sacraments, nor salvation without it. He is blind that sees not many Churches flourishing without it; and he must have a heart as hard as iron, that will deny them salvation. Something may be wanting, that is of Divine right, in the exterior regimen of the Church, and yet salvation be obtained therein.' Now this is *the case of the French Church*, which Bishop Andrews and his followers *allow to have all the necessary and essential notes of a true Church, though Episcopal government was never settled among them.*"<sup>3</sup>

In the debate on *Occasional Conformity*, in 1702, Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, stated, that "if he were abroad, he would

<sup>1</sup> SHERLOCK'S Vindication of some Protestant principles of Church unity and catholic communion, Lond. 1688. See the reprint in Bishop Gibson's *Preservative*, vol. iii. p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 432.

<sup>3</sup> French Church's Apol. for Church of England, bk. 2. c. 2. Works, ix. 40, 41.

willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches, where he should happen to be.”<sup>1</sup>

In the debate on the Union with Scotland, in 1707, Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, said, “he thought the “ narrow notions of all Churches had been their ruin, and that “ *he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant “ Church as the Church of England*, though he could not say “ it was as perfect.”<sup>2</sup>

Even the nonjuror Archbishop Sancroft, in some Admonitions issued to the clergy of his Province in 1688, speaks in fraternal terms of the Foreign Reformed Churches, exhorting his clergy—“ That they warmly and most affectionately exhort them [*i.e.*, “our brethren the Protestant Dissenters”] “ to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for “ the universal *blessed union of all Reformed Churches both at “ home and abroad* against our common enemies; that all they “ who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree “ in the truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy “ communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.”<sup>3</sup>

For the sentiments of Archbishop Wake, to the same effect, the reader may consult some letters (written in 1719) given in the 4th Append. to Mosheim’s *Eccles. Hist.* translated by Maclaine, Cent. xviii. No. xix—xxii; one of which is to “the pastors and professors of Geneva,” whom he addresses as “*fratres charissimi*,” and in another (No. xix.) he says,—“ The Reformed Churches, though in some things differing “ from our English Church, I willingly embrace. I could “ have wished indeed that the episcopal form of church- “ government had been retained by all of them. In the mean- “ while be it far from me to be so iron-hearted that on account “ of a defect of this kind (such I may be permitted without “ offence to call it) I should believe that some of them are to “ be broken off from our communion, or, with certain insane

<sup>1</sup> Life of Abp. Sharp, vol. i. p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Carstares, 759, as quoted by Mr. Hallam, *Constit. Hist.* 4th ed. ii. 483.

<sup>3</sup> D’Oyly’s Life of Sancroft, i. 325; or Wilk. *Conc.* iv. 619.



“writers among us, should assert, that they have no true and  
“valid sacraments, and thus are scarcely Christians.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1764 we have Archbishop Secker following him in the same strain:—“Our inclination is to live in friendship with  
“*all the Protestant Churches*. We assist and protect those on  
“the continent of Europe as well as we are able. We show  
“our regard to that of Scotland as often as we have an opportunity.”<sup>2</sup>

And, defending our Reformation, in one of his sermons against the Romanists, he says,—“Supposing we had even  
“acted without, and separated from, our Church governors,  
“as our Protestant brethren abroad were forced to do: was  
“there not a cause? When the word of God was hidden  
“from men . . . when Church authority, by supporting such  
“things as these, became inconsistent with the ends for which  
“it was established, *what remedy was there but to throw it off*  
“*and form new establishments? If in these there were any*  
“*irregularities, they were the faults of those who forced men into*  
“*them, and are of no consequence in comparison with the reason*  
“*that made a change necessary.*”<sup>3</sup>

Still more strongly speaks the late Bishop Tomline:—“I  
“readily acknowledge that there is no precept in the New  
“Testament which commands that every Church should be  
“governed by bishops. No Church can exist without some  
“government; but though there must be rules and orders for  
“the proper discharge of the offices of public worship, though  
“there must be fixed regulations concerning the appointment  
“of ministers; and though a subordination among them is

<sup>1</sup> “*Ecclesias Reformatas etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissidentes, libenter amplector. Optarem equidem regimen episcopale. . . et ab iis omnibus fuisset retentum. . . Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostra abscondendas credam; aut, cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem.*” Mosheim, by Maclaine, vol. 6. p. 184, ed. 1826. And in a letter to Father Courayer, dated July 9, 1724, he again expresses the same sentiments. Mosheim, *ib.* p. 30, Cent. xviii. § 23.

<sup>2</sup> Answ. to Mayhew, p. 68. Life prefixed to Sermons, ed. 1770. p. lxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Sermon. vol. 6. pp. 400, 401.

“expedient in the highest degree, yet it does not follow, that  
 “all these things must be precisely the same in every Chris-  
 “tian country; they may vary with the other varying circum-  
 “stances of human society, with the extent of a country, the  
 “manners of its inhabitants, the nature of its civil govern-  
 “ment, and many other peculiarities which might be speci-  
 “fied. As it has not pleased our Almighty Father to prescribe  
 “any particular form of civil government for the security of  
 “temporal comforts to His rational creatures, so neither has  
 “He prescribed any particular form of ecclesiastical polity as  
 “absolutely necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness  
 “. . . . As the Scriptures do not prescribe any definite form  
 “of church-government, so they contain no directions con-  
 “cerning the establishment of a power by which ministers are  
 “to be admitted to their sacred office.” And therefore, though  
 he advocates Episcopal Ordination as “instituted by the  
 Apostles,” he does not maintain it as necessary.<sup>1</sup>

I close the list with the testimony of our late respected  
 primate, Dr. Howley.

In a statement published by his authority in 1841, the  
 Foreign Protestant Non-episcopal Churches are spoken of as  
 “the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of  
 Europe.”<sup>2</sup>

And in 1835, a letter was addressed by the same prelate, in  
 the name of himself and his “*brother bishops*,” to “the Mode-  
 rator of the Company of Pastors at Geneva,” expressing their  
 “*high respect for the Protestant Churches on the Continent*,”  
 and speaking of the *Genevan Reformation* as “a noble achieve-  
 “ment, which brought light out of darkness, and rescued  
 “your Church from the shackles of Papal domination and the  
 “tyrannical imposition of a corrupt faith, and a superstitious  
 “ritual,” wrought by “illustrious men, who, under the direc-  
 “tion of Almighty God, were the instruments of this happy  
 “deliverance,” “an event not less glorious to Geneva than  
 “conductive to the success of the Reformation.”

<sup>1</sup> TOMLINE'S Expos. of Art. 23. ed. 1799. pp. 396—398.

<sup>2</sup> Statem. resp. Jerusalem Bishopric, p. 5.

As it respects that which is *essential* to the *being* of a Church, the case is well stated by the excellent Dr. Claget (so highly commended by Archbishop Sharp<sup>1</sup>), in his examination of Bellarmine's seventh note of the Church, viz. "the union of the members among themselves, and with the Head." Having pointed out seven "grounds and notions of Church-unity," which "ought" all to be in the Church, he adds, "But some of them are necessary to the being of the Church; and they are, the acknowledgment of the *one Lord*, the profession of the *one faith*, and admission into the state of Christian duties and privileges by *one baptism*. And this is all that I can find absolutely necessary to the being of a Church; inasmuch as the Apostle says, 'That we are all baptized into one body.' And therefore, so far as unity in these things is spread and obtains in the world, so far and no farther is the body of the Church propagated, because it is one by this unity.... The Church of England.... doth not unchurch those parts of Christendom that hold the unity of the faith.... From hence, also, the folly of that conceit may be easily discerned, that, in this divided state of Christendom, there must be one Church, which is the only Church of Christ, exclusively to all the rest that are not in communion with her; which is as much as to say, That because there is not that unity amongst Christians which there ought to be, therefore there is none at all; and because they are not united in one communion, therefore they are not united in one Lord, one faith, one baptism."<sup>2</sup>

There is a great difference in a body of men wanting some of those things that are requisite to the perfection of a Church, and not being a Church at all.

These remarks of Dr. Claget naturally lead me to notice a case which our preceding observations have not touched.

What we have hitherto said, refers only to such cases as those of the Foreign Reformed Churches, and the Church of

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Archbishop Sharp.

<sup>2</sup> CLAGET'S Brief discourse concerning the notes of the Church, pp. 166—9, or as reprinted in Bishop Gibson's Preservative, vol. i. tit. 3. c. 2. pp. 121—3; and see Dean Sherlock's Vindic. of his Disc. conc. the notes of the Church.

Scotland ; not to schismatical Ordinations performed by presbyters or others in an Episcopal Church professing the orthodox faith ; and if our observations may be considered as showing that the Orders of those Churches, though somewhat irregular, are not essentially invalid, then it will, of course, be granted by *all*, that the sacraments are valid as administered by them. The doctrine of "episcopal grace" we shall consider presently.

But there is also another class of ecclesiastical communities, whose case certainly differs from that of those we have just been considering, namely, the Protestant Dissenters. With respect to these, the language of our opponents is, of course, still more severe (as, doubtless, they have laid themselves far more open to censure,) than concerning the former. The Dissenters appear to be left without hesitation to the uncovenanted mercies of God, that is, (whatever our opponents may say to the contrary,) to no mercies at all ; for, if a body of men living in the midst of the Christian Church, and professing to belong to it, have acted so as to put themselves beyond the pale of all God's *covenanted* mercies, it is a mere evasion, for the purpose of avoiding a charge of uncharitableness, to insinuate that they may find mercy in a way that has not been promised. Let those who say this, take heed by what rule they are measuring God's covenant.

This is a painful subject to discuss, nor is it pertinent to our present subject to do more than briefly touch upon it ; but whatever censures may belong to those who cause needless divisions in a Church, especially where there is a really schismatical spirit and temper, which surely is no trifling sin, I feel bound to protest against the doctrine of our opponents on the subject.

The Tractators seem to argue thus, that because, from the first, certain persons were set apart as pastors and teachers for the Church, who were to ordain others to the same office, therefore the ministry of the word and sacraments is so exclusively in the hands of those persons that have been set apart for that purpose in a way accordant with the antient



custom of the Church, that, but for their ministrations, the people must be altogether destitute of the means of grace and all Christian privileges. But the latter is by no means a consequence of the former. The institution of pastors for the Church, is a wise, and useful, and merciful provision for the wants of the Church. It does not show that no one *can* do what they are expressly set apart to do. It only provides, that there shall always be some in the Church to perform certain duties, and guide the people in spiritual things. True, indeed, it follows from this, that an unnecessary usurpation of the office peculiarly entrusted to them, by laymen, is contrary to that good order which ought to reign in the Church. Nor can it be denied, that, for individuals to break off communion with pastors so constituted, under whom the providence of God had placed them, and set up pastors for themselves, except on the ground of grievous error or serious corruptions and abuses such as materially injure the cause of true religion, is an act of schism which would have met with unqualified condemnation from the Apostles. But it is quite another matter to say, that a certain form of church-government and standard of pastoral qualification are essentially and *per se* necessary, so as to be a *sine qua non* to union with the Christian Church.

What says Hooker on this point? "Whereupon, because  
 " the only object which separateth ours from other religions  
 " is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe,  
 " and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that  
 " accordingly the Apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby  
 " the Church from infidels and from Jews; accounting '*them*  
 " *which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his*  
 " *Church.'* If we go lower, we shall but add unto this  
 " certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly  
 " *of the being*, but make only for the *happier and better being*  
 " of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men's opinions  
 " and conceits. *This is the error of all Popish definitions that*  
 " *hitherto have been brought.* They define not the Church by  
 " that which the Church essentially is, but *by that wherein*

“ *they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are.*  
 “ Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise  
 “ of imperfection and defect, in the Church of God, they are  
 “ infinite ; their degrees and differences no way possible to  
 “ be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least  
 “ contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the  
 “ unity that ought to be in the Church of Christ, which  
 “ notwithstanding may have not only without offence or  
 “ breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and cere-  
 “ monies of religion, but also her strifes and contentions  
 “ many times, and that about matters of no small importance,  
 “ *yea, her schisms, factions, and such other evils, whereunto the*  
 “ *body of the Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both*  
 “ *of the same body, as long as both parts retain, by outward*  
 “ *profession, that vital substance of truth, which maketh Chris-*  
 “ *tian religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our*  
 “ *Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Saviour of mankind ; give no*  
 “ *credit to his glorious Gospel, and have his Sacraments, the*  
 “ *seals of eternal life, in derision.*”<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere, speaking  
 more fully on this subject, he says,—“ *The unity of which*  
 “ *visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uni-*  
 “ *formity, which all several persons thereunto belonging have,*  
 “ *by reason of that one Lord whose servants they all profess*  
 “ *themselves, that one faith which they all acknowledge, that*  
 “ *one baptism wherewith they are all initiated.*” “ We speak  
 “ now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with  
 “ this mark, ‘one Lord, one faith, one baptism.’” “All men  
 “ are, of necessity, either Christians, or not Christians. If  
 “ by external profession they be Christians, then are they of  
 “ the visible Church of Christ ; and Christians by external  
 “ profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in  
 “ it those things which we have mentioned.”<sup>2</sup>

With regard to their Orders, I freely admit that they must  
 be considered as *irregular*. In Apostolic times the duties of the  
 Ministry were, under ordinary circumstances, and in a regu-

<sup>1</sup> HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. bk. v. c. 68.

<sup>2</sup> HOOKER'S Eccl. Pol. bk. iii. c. 1. See the whole context.

larly formed Church, only discharged by those who had received a commission, deriving its authority originally from Christ, through the Apostles; and as *they* were commissioned to ordain others to the same office, it may justly be considered, that the *regular* mode of obtaining the power to fulfil the duties of the pastoral office is from those to whom the commission has come down by the same authority. A reason must be shown why it should be departed from. And further, the onus of proof lies upon them, to show that there was any *sufficient* reason for setting up a rival Ministry to that of the Church from which they seceded, otherwise their ministry is not only irregular, but culpably schismatical.

But that this *necessarily* and *essentially* vitiates and renders invalid the administration of the sacraments, and all the ministerial acts performed by their pastors, our opponents can never prove. The simple fact, that certain persons were commissioned by our Lord to minister in spiritual things to his Church, and ordain others to a like office, forms no proof that under no circumstances can the word and sacraments be ministered but by those so appointed. Nor does this view at all tend to nullify the use and importance of the ministerial office, nor to interfere with the preservation, under all ordinary circumstances, of ecclesiastical order. The same author, Tertullian, who permits the layman, in the absence of the ordained minister, both to baptize and administer the eucharist, says elsewhere, that even the presbyter must not baptize without the leave of the bishop. And the passage is so appropriate in this place, that I will give the reader an extract from it. "The right of giving baptism is possessed by the chief priest, who is the bishop; then by the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop for the sake of the honour [? order] of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Otherwise laymen have the right; for that which is equally received, may equally be given. . . but how much more is the discipline of modesty and orderly behaviour the duty of laymen, since these things belong to those above them, that they should not assume to themselves the office of episcopacy



“ assigned to bishops. Emulation is the mother of schisms. All things are lawful to me, said the most holy Apostle, but all things are not expedient. Let it suffice that you may use the liberty in cases of necessity, as where the circumstances of the place, time, or person require it. For then the boldness of the helper is allowed, when the circumstances of a person in danger force it. Since a man will be guilty of the destruction of another, if he shall have neglected to give what he might *freely have given*.”<sup>1</sup>

Ministration in sacred things is confined to the clergy for the sake of ecclesiastical order; which order as it was ordained by God, so a needless infraction of it will doubtless be visited, more or less, according to circumstances, with the marks of his displeasure; and the clergy are set apart for that ministry, somewhat as the tribe of Levi was set apart for the service of the Temple, under the Old Testament. But that there is *the same distinction* between the clergy and the laity, as there was between the priests and the laity under the Old Testament, is contradicted both by Scripture and Antiquity.

But the doctrine of our opponents is, that the power of giving authority for the exercise of the office of pastor, was left by our Lord *exclusively* in the hands of *certain individuals*, and those appointed by *them* to succeed them in their office, and can never, under any circumstances, devolve upon any others; so that even where the chief pastors of a Church are involved in vital error, neither any of the inferior pastors, nor even the great body of such a Church, can separate themselves from them, and appoint suitable persons to minister the word

<sup>1</sup> “ Dandi [i. e. baptismum] habet jus summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesiæ honorem [? ordinem], quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est, quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest . . . sed quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundiæ et modestiæ incumbit, cum ea majoribus competant, ne sibi adsumant dicatum Episcopis officium Episcopatus. Æmulatio schismatum mater est. Omnia licere, dixit sanctissimus Apostolus, sed non omnia expedire. Sufficiat scilicet in necessitatibus utaris, sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personæ conditio compellit. Tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, cum urget circumstantia periclitantis. Quoniam reus erit perditæ hominûs, si supersederit præstare quod libere potuit.” TERTULL. De bapt. c. 17. pp. 230, 231.



and sacraments. This, however, is a notion utterly groundless, and wholly opposed to the spirit of the Christian Dispensation. It ascribes to the clergy of the Episcopal Succession all the powers claimed by the most zealous Romanist for the Pope, and places the whole Church under their absolute dominion. If there is a sufficient reason to justify the people in breaking that prescribed ecclesiastical order, and separating themselves from their clergy, there is no essential impediment, where the necessity of the case requires it, to their appointing some from among themselves to fulfil the ministerial function. And a sufficient reason there is, if the faith has been corrupted, or the terms of communion rendered sinful, or grave corruptions materially injuring the cause of Christ predominate; and hence, we doubt not, a secession from the Church of Rome, had it been made by laymen only, would have been justifiable; and the seceders fully authorized to appoint a Ministry from among themselves, (if they had none Apostolically commissioned joining with them in their secession,) and expect the Divine blessing upon their ministrations. Such a secession would certainly have met with the approbation of Cyprian;<sup>1</sup> for although in the case mentioned in the Epistle I have referred to below, nothing perhaps took place that was uncanonical, because there were bishops at hand to countenance what was done; yet the statements and arguments of Cyprian are *general*, and would certainly not have had less force, if all the neighbouring bishops had been involved in the same errors as the bishops there inculcated.

Hence the culpability of such separations depends entirely upon the circumstances under which they are made; and such bodies, though having none among them Apostolically commissioned, *may* yet be sound parts of the Church of Christ, and certainly parts of that Church partially only defective.

The consequence is, that the question of union or separation is a case of conscience, in which each man must act according to the light which he possesses. And though a man may err in his decision, and thereby even disturb the peace of the Church, and bring much evil upon himself and others, and

<sup>1</sup> CYPR. Ep. ad cler. et pleb. in Hisp.; Ep. 68. ed. Pamel. and Fell.

perhaps expose himself to punishment, I should be loath to maintain, that if he has acted with sincerity, and holds the fundamentals of the faith, and regulates his life correspondently, he is not a member of Christ's visible Church; and one, moreover, who is upon the whole in a state of salvation.

"The true notion of a Church," says Dean Sherlock, "is the *cætus fidelium*, or the company of the faithful, of those who profess the true faith of Christ, and are united to him by baptism." — "No Christian can separate from the Catholic church (in this sense of it, as it signifies the whole company and family of Christians, which is the true notion of the Catholic Church), while he continues a Christian; for that is a contradiction, to be a Christian and not to belong to the whole number of Christians; that is, to be a Christian, and to be no Christian: for if he be a Christian, he belongs to the number of Christians, and then he is a member of the Catholic Church, and consequently not a separatist from it. *Nothing can separate us from the Catholic Church, but what forfeits our Christianity, either a final apostasy or such heresies as are equivalent to apostasy. . . . .* Schism and separation is a breach of the external and visible communion of the Church, not of the essential unity of it; the Church is one Church still, whatever breaches and schisms there are in its external communion; for the unity of the Catholic Church consists in the union of the whole to Christ, which makes them one body in him; not in the external communion of the several parts of it to each other. And therefore it is not a separation from one another, but only a separation from Christ, which is a separation from the Catholic Church."<sup>1</sup> There may be one Lord, one faith, one baptism, to those who are not in external communion with one another. There may be, therefore, a spiritual relationship, where, through the infirmity of the flesh, that relationship is not recognised, and does not issue in communion; just as men may be members of one family, who do not live together in friendly communion as of one family.

<sup>1</sup> SHERLOCK'S Disc. conc. the nature, unity, and comm. of the Catholic Church, pp. 32, 52, 53.

The doctrine of our Church, therefore, on the subject of church-government, may, I hope, be fully maintained, where it is not considered to involve any such anathemas as our opponents launch against those who have separated from her communion, or to consign any to God's "uncovenanted mercies," who are sound in the fundamentals of the faith, and of a life correspondent to their professed faith, however erroneous may be their notions of ecclesiastical polity.

There is a great difference between a Church laying down articles of communion for her own members, such as may be required for the preservation of what she considers to be important in doctrine and polity in her own communion, and her making the maintenance of those articles necessary to every Christian community as a *sine qua non* to their being recognised as part of the orthodox Church of Christ. For the latter, I conceive, such only should be laid down as may be considered to be points simply and absolutely fundamental and necessary to salvation. For otherwise we unchurch those whom we dare not deny that Christ may own as his followers; which seems to me worse than absurd.

Here, then, I leave the case which we are now considering, as I have no inclination to find apologies for any *needless* schisms and divisions. Let it not be supposed, that in the remarks we have just offered there was any wish to throw a shield over such irregularities, or to make light of unnecessary divisions in the Church. Far from it. We believe them to be sinful. Nay more; the evils inherent in schism and forms of church-government devised by the fancy of man are such as generally bring their own punishment with them in this world. There is not the same stability in such communions. They are the rendezvous for men of unquiet and turbulent spirits, whose influence upon their respective communities is anything but favourable to genuine piety, and even the peace of society. They are, many of them, for the sake, as it is admitted, of non-essentials, impeding the progress of that cause which they profess to have most at heart.

Surely of such we must say, in the words of Irenæus, "God



“ will judge those who produce schisms, who are destitute of the love of God, contemplating their own profit, and not the unity of the Church, and for the sake of small and trifling causes, dividing and splitting into parts the great and glorious body of Christ, and, as far as in them lies, slaying it ; who have *peace in their mouth and war in their acts*, who in very deed strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.”<sup>1</sup>

We neither agree, therefore, with those who leave them to the uncovenanted mercies of God, nor with those who are countenancing them in their mistaken course.

But, one thing I must be permitted to add with regard to our own case, namely, that so far as our opponents are allowed to be successful in introducing into our Church the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, so far will there be afforded additional grounds of justification to those who have departed from its communion, and so far will the respect and affection of those who as yet remain attached to it, be fundamentally and justly alienated from it. And greatly does it concern those who have power either in Church or State, to take heed, lest to the great practical abuses by which chiefly our Church has lost the affections of so large a portion of the people, there be added corruptions more deeply affecting its claims upon public regard.

I proceed to notice the remaining portion of our opponents’ doctrine on this subject.

Whether the grace of the sacraments ordinarily comes only through the sacraments, is a question which, however important in itself, I need not now discuss ; for, whether it is so or not, our opponents’ doctrine on the point now under consideration has been met and, I hope, refuted on other grounds. In this place, therefore, I pass it over.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνακρινεῖ δὲ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα ἐργαζομένους, κενοὺς ὄντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελεῖς σκοποῦντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ διὰ μικρὰς καὶ τὰς ὑψούσας [τυχούσας] αἰτίας τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τέμνοντας καὶ διαιροῦντας, καὶ ὅσον τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦντας· τοὺς εἰρήνην λαλοῦντας, καὶ πόλεμον ἐργαζομένους, ἀληθῶς διυλίζοντας τὸν κῶνωπα, τὸν δὲ κῶμηλον καταπίνοντας. IREN. Adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 33. ed. Mass. p. 272. (c. 62. pp. 359, 60, ed. Grab.)



But, there remains for consideration what I have mentioned as the

*Second* point to be noticed in the doctrine of our opponents on this subject, namely, their notion of "episcopal grace;" which is, as I have already stated,<sup>1</sup> that by Episcopal Ordination (such, that is, as they maintain to be the only valid kind) there is conferred in all cases the gift of the Holy Spirit to abide in the person ordained, "as for all other parts of his office, so for the custody of the good deposit, the fundamentals of doctrine and practice," which is called, "the doctrine of ministerial grace derived by succession from the Apostles," or, the doctrine of "episcopal grace;" though of course it is admitted, that a person may receive this grace in vain, and after receiving it, be "liable to error, and heresy, and apostasy." (p. 105.) And Mr. Keble elsewhere states, that "the obvious meaning of 2 Tim. i. 14, is, that the treasure of sound doctrine was to be guarded by the grace of the Apostolical Succession." "Apostolical or episcopal grace is, by God's ordinance, the guardian of sound doctrine; the Spirit abiding in Timothy is to watch incessantly the deposit or trust of divine truth left in his charge; and where the one, the Succession, fails, there, as this verse would lead us to expect, and as all Church-history proves, the other, the truth of doctrine, is immediately in imminent jeopardy."<sup>2</sup>

Now, thus much we readily grant, that, the Christian Ministry being of God's own appointment, and intended for continuance to the end of time, for the edification of his Church, (Eph. iv. 11—13,) we may humbly hope, that God's blessing will more or less rest upon it, and his Spirit be vouchsafed, to enable those who are called to that work to fulfil it so as to accomplish his purposes. And in each portion of the Church such an expectation might reasonably be entertained from the first on behalf of its pastors, until facts should seem to show, that such blessing was withdrawn.

But that He has tied his gifts to the acts and appointments of man, so that they are only bestowed in one precise channel,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 248, 249 above.

<sup>2</sup> KEBLE'S Sermon. pp. 42, 44; and see p. 51.

we have no ground for affirming. And hence Bishop Jewel rebukes Harding for supposing, that "unto such Succession God hath bound the Holy Ghost," when, "by Succession, "Christ saith, Desolation shall sit in the Holy Place, and "Antichrist shall press into the room of Christ;" and to the remark, that "Succession is the chief way for any Christian man to avoid Antichrist," (which seems to be precisely Mr. Keble's view,) he replies, "I grant you, *if you mean the succession of DOCTRINE.*"<sup>1</sup> Supposing that our opponents' whole scheme was precisely laid down by our Lord himself, it follows not, that there may not be a general corruption of doctrine among the pastors so appointed, and that others not so appointed may minister in sacred things acceptably in their place in consequence of their defection; and by their *doctrine* (as I shall show presently) the Fathers held that they were to be tried, whether they were truly successors of the Apostles.

But these words of Mr. Keble clearly *imply*, that wherever the Apostolical Succession is preserved, there, in every Ordination, the Holy Spirit is given, to abide in the ordained for the preservation of the *fundamentals* of the faith; and that where the Apostolical Succession has failed, there (though they may by possibility be preserved for a time) we cannot, to say the least, expect to find them, and they are left as it were to accident, persons in such a situation not being recognised as any part of the Church.

Now this goes beyond what some even of the most strenuous Romish advocates for the Apostolical Succession contend for; for Bellarmine himself, though he makes such Succession a necessary note of the Church, does not make it a sure and infallible note, as this would do. But it is neither one nor the other, for it will not, I suppose, be denied, that there may be soundness in the fundamentals of the faith where that Succession is not to be found, and therefore it is no distinctive note of the Church. What says even Archbishop Laud? "For Succession in the general I shall say "this. It is a great happiness where it may be had visible

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL's Def. of Apol. Pt. ii. ch. 5. div. 1. Works, p. 139.

“and continued; and a great conquest over the mutability of this present world. But I do not find any one of the antient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible, and continued Succession a necessary sign or mark of the true Church in any one place.” And he adds, that Stapleton, in saying that “sound doctrine is indivisible from true and lawful Succession,” had “forsaken truth.”<sup>1</sup>

Nay, does not the history of the Church present us with instances where the fundamentals of the faith have not been preserved, and yet the outward Succession has remained unimpaired, as in the case of the Arians?

Will it be said, then, that in such a case the Holy Spirit is still given to abide in a man for the preservation of the fundamentals of the faith, when both the ordained and the ordainer are in error in the fundamentals? For instance, when Arians ordained Arians, was the Holy Spirit necessarily given by that Ordination to abide in the person ordained, for the preservation of the fundamentals of the faith, because the person ordaining had the true Apostolical Succession, and pronounced the words, Receive the Holy Ghost? Such a proposition is surely too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. It follows, then, that the Holy Spirit is not always thus given through Ordinations performed strictly according to the Apostolical Succession. And if not, then the question is thrown open, When is it given? And we are not to conclude, that whenever men use the words, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” though they may be, in external appointment, successors of the Apostles, there the gift of the Holy Ghost necessarily follows. That thus the ordained have authority given them to exercise the duties and functions of the ministry without any infraction of ecclesiastical order, and that God will receive the services of his people rendered through their ministrations, may be quite true, but that they necessarily receive such a gift as Mr. Keble supposes, is affirmed without evidence and contradicted by facts.

I know not, indeed, how we can have any right to expect

<sup>1</sup> LAUD'S Answer to Fisher, § 39. n. 7, 8. pp. 249, 250. ed. 1686.

more than that the Holy Spirit should give to each man severally "*as he will*;" or that we can affirm, that all the declarations of our Lord and his Apostles are not fully accomplished, if, amidst all those who are admitted to the office of the ministry, the Spirit is given, *in the manner spoken of by Mr. Keble*, in those cases only where God sees fit to give so great a blessing. I know of no promise that, whatever may be the character or conduct of the parties concerned, such a blessing shall be conferred in all cases where Ordination is canonically performed. And the argument that, because our Lord promised his Apostles to be with them even unto the end of the world, therefore he is present with all those canonically ordained by outward succession from the Apostles, is not worth answering. To assume that our Lord in these words spake to the Apostles, only as the representatives of the pastors of the Church, and not as the representatives of his disciples generally, is, to say the least, unwarranted, and to me appears much more. And thus thought Bishop Pearson, for he has expounded the promise as one applying to the Church at large, following moreover in this the interpretation given to the passage by Leo and Augustine.<sup>1</sup> Equally untenable is the notion, that the gift conferred upon Timothy, by the imposition of St. Paul's hands, must necessarily be equally conferred by any canonical Ordination performed now.

In fact, as to Scriptural arguments for such a doctrine, there can be no pretence made to them. And, therefore, its supporters wisely take refuge in the Fathers, where, from their number, variety of sentiment, ignorance of the various controversies by which the Church would be agitated, rhetorical and inaccurate mode of expressing themselves, some semblance of defence may be found for almost any doctrine that can be started.

But we need not fear to meet them even here. And I would ask our opponents, where are the passages by which they can show, that the Fathers held their notion on this point, that is, that Ordination, where given through the strict

<sup>1</sup> PEARSON'S Exposition of the Creed, Article ix. ed. Dobson, p. 512.



Apostolical Succession, *ensures in all cases* the gift of the Holy Spirit to abide in the ordained person for the custody of the fundamentals of doctrine and practice? I am not aware that such a doctrine was ever thought of by the primitive Fathers, and therefore until they have given some respectable testimony on the subject, it is sufficient to meet their assertion with a denial.

But, as it appears to me, what is included and implied in this doctrine is of more consequence than the doctrine itself, and therefore to meet what seems to be implied, though not clearly expressed, in the statements of Mr. Keble on this point, I would direct the reader's attention to the following passages from some of the best of the Fathers, showing that, in their view,

(1) The Apostolical Succession, in the sense of a succession of *persons* only, does not secure to a Church *soundness in the fundamentals of the faith*, and that those who have not the latter, though they have the former, are to be avoided.

(2) That the only absolutely essential point is *doctrinal* succession, or the holding the same faith the Apostles did; and that where that faith is held, there, though perhaps labouring under irregularities and imperfections in other respects, Christ's Church is to be found, and consequently the presence of his Spirit.

1. That Apostolical Succession, in the sense of a succession of *persons* only, does not secure to a Church *soundness in the fundamentals of the faith*, and that those who have not the latter, though they have the former, are to be avoided.

And all impartial readers will, I think, admit, that if this is the case, then the notion, that the Apostolical Succession secures in all Ordinations the gift of the Holy Spirit to abide in a person for the preservation of the fundamentals, falls to the ground, whatever nice distinctions may be drawn to prop it up.

I begin with Tertullian, whose great argument in his Treatise "De Præscript." is, that the doctrine of the Apostolical Churches, to which he refers against the heretics, was in all likelihood the true one, because those Churches *agreed*

together in it, the heretics having no such argument to produce; but if Apostolical Succession is a sure test of orthodoxy in fundamentals, he would not have troubled himself to point to their agreement, but at once have put it upon the ground of their succession. Nay more, in this treatise he asks, "Do we prove the faith by persons, or persons by the faith?"<sup>1</sup> Nay, he directly affirms what we maintain, when, having spoken of the Succession in the Churches of Smyrna and Rome, &c., he says, "Let the heretics make out anything like this . . . . .  
 "Nay, even if they should do so, they will have done nothing.  
 "For their doctrine when compared with the Apostolical will  
 "show from its difference and contrariety that it has neither  
 "an Apostle nor a disciple of the Apostles for its author; for  
 "as the Apostles would not have differed from one another in  
 "their teaching, so neither would the disciples of the Apostles  
 "have preached a different doctrine from that of the Apostles,  
 "unless those who were taught by the Apostles preached  
 "otherwise than they were taught. By this test, therefore,  
 "they shall be tried by those Churches which, although they  
 "can produce no Apostle or disciple of the Apostles as their  
 "author, as being of much later origin, and such indeed are  
 "daily formed, yet, agreeing in the same faith, are considered  
 "as not less Apostolical on account of the consanguinity of their  
 "doctrine."<sup>2</sup>

Thus also speaks Irenæus, in a passage, the beginning of which, abstracted from the context, has been quoted in favour of opposite views, but how unfairly any one who peruses the

<sup>1</sup> "Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas?" c. 3. p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> "Confinçant tale aliquid hæretici . . . Sed etsi confinxerint, nihil promovebunt. Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum Apostolica comparata, ex diversitate et contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque Apostoli alienius auctoris esse neque Apostolici: quia sicut Apostoli non diversa inter se docuissent, ita et Apostolici non contraria Apostolis edidissent, nisi illi qui ab Apostolis didicerunt aliter prædicaverunt. Ad hanc itaque formam probabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis quæ licet nullum ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes non minus Apostolicæ deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ." TER-TULL. De Præscript. hæret. c. 32. Op. ed. 1664. p. 213. So further on he says, "Unde autem extranei et inimici Apostolis hæretici, nisi ex diversitate doctrinæ." c. 37. p. 216.

whole passage will at once see. "Wherefore," he says, "we ought to obey those presbyters who are in the Church, those I mean who have succession from the Apostles as we have shown, who with the succession of the episcopate have received according to the good pleasure of the Father the sure gift of truth . . . . But they who are looked upon by many as presbyters, but serve their own pleasures, and do not in their hearts make the fear of God their rule, but persecute others with reproaches, and are elated with pride at their exaltation to the chief seat, and secretly do evil, and say, 'No one seeth us,' shall be reproved by the Word . . . . From all such it behoves us to stand aloof, and to cleave to those who, as I have said before, both retain THE DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLES and with the order of the presbytership [or as others read, of a presbyter] exhibit soundness in word and a blameless conversation for the edification and correction of the rest."<sup>1</sup> Here, then, are evidently two sorts of successors of the Apostles, and from one of them we are directed to hold ourselves aloof.

Next, let us hear Ambrose. "Christ," saith he, "is the only one whom no one ought, under any circumstances, to forsake or exchange for another." And then, having bidden us seek the faith in the Church first, he adds, "in which if Christ dwells, it is beyond doubt to be chosen by us; but if an unfaithful people or an heretical teacher defiles the place, the communion of heretics is to be avoided, their place of assembly to be shunned . . . If there is any Church

<sup>1</sup> "Quapropter eis qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt . . . . Qui vero crediti quidem sunt a multis esse presbyteri, serviunt autem suis voluptatibus, et non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, et principalis consessionis tumore elati sunt, et in absconsis agunt mala, et dicunt, Nemo nos videt, redarguentur a Verbo. . . . Ab omnibus igitur talibus absistere oportet; adhærere vero his qui et Apostolorum sicut prædiximus doctrinam custodiunt, et cum presbyterii [presbyteri] ordine sermonem sanum et conversationem sine offensa præstant ad informationem et correctionem reliquorum." IREN. Adv. hæres. lib. iv. c. 26. ed. Mass. pp. 262, 263. (cc. 43, 44. pp. 343, 4. ed. Grab.)



*"which rejects the faith, and does not possess the fundamentals of the doctrine of the Apostles . . . it is to be deserted."*<sup>1</sup>

Thus also speaks Augustine;—"We ought to find the Church, as the Head of the Church, in the Holy Canonical Scriptures, not to inquire for it in the various reports, and opinions, and deeds, and words, and visions of men."<sup>2</sup> Whether they [i. e. the Donatists] hold the Church, they must show by the Canonical books of the Divine Scriptures alone; for we do not say, that we must be believed because we are in the Church of Christ, because Optatus of Milevi, or Ambrose of Milan, or innumerable other bishops of our communion, commended that Church to which we belong, or because it is extolled by the Councils of our colleagues, or because through the whole world in the holy places which those of our communion frequent such wonderful answers to prayer or cures happen. . . . Whatever things of this kind take place in the Catholic Church, are therefore to be approved of because they take place in the Catholic Church; but it is not proved to be the Catholic Church, because these things happen in it. The Lord Jesus himself when he had risen from the dead . . . judged that his disciples were to be convinced by the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms . . . *These are the proofs, these the foundations, these the supports of our cause.* We read in the Acts of the Apostles of some who believed, that they searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so. What Scriptures but the Canonical Scriptures of the Law and the

<sup>1</sup> "Hic [i. e. Christus] est igitur solus quem nemo debet deserere, nemo mutare. . . . Fides igitur imprimis Ecclesiæ quaerenda mandatur, in qua si Christus habitator sit, haud dubie sit legenda; sin vero perfidus populus aut præceptor hæreticus deformat habitaculum, vitanda hæreticorum communio, fugienda Synagoga censetur . . . Si qua est Ecclesia quæ fidem respuat, nec Apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit adspargere, deserenda est." AMBROS. In Luc. lib. vi. § 68. (In c. 9, v. 4.) Op. ed. Ben. tom. i. col. 1399.

<sup>2</sup> "Quam [i. e. Ecclesiam] sicut ipsum caput in Scripturis Sanctis Canonicis debemus agnoscere, non in variis hominum rumoribus et opinionibus et factis et dictis et visis inquirere." AUGUST. Contr. Donat. Ep. (vulg. De unitate eccles.) c. 19. Op. tom. ix. col. 372.



"Prophets? To these have been added the Gospels, the Apostolical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse of John."<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, the author of the fragment of an Exposition of St. Matthew, attributed to Chrysostom, and admitted by many of the Romanists themselves to be the work of no mean hand, speaks thus, and a very remarkable passage it is;—It is on the words, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains," which our author thus expounds;—"That is, when ye shall see the impious heresy, which is the army of Antichrist, standing in the holy places of the Church, then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains; that is, let Christians *betake themselves to the Scriptures*. . . . The mountains are the Scriptures of the Apostles or Prophets. . . . And why does he bid all Christians at that time to betake themselves to the Scriptures? Because, at that time, when heresy hath got possession of those Churches, there can be no proof of true Christianity, nor any other refuge for Christians wishing to know the true faith, but the divine Scriptures. For before, it was shown in many ways which was the Church of Christ, and which heathenism; but now, it is known in no way to those who wish to ascertain which is the true Church of Christ,

<sup>1</sup> "Sed utrum ipsi Ecclesiam teneant, non nisi de divinarum Scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant; quia nec nos propterea dicimus nobis credi oportere quod in Ecclesia Christi sumus, quia ipsam quam tenemus commendavit Milevitanus Optatus vel Mediolanensis Ambrosius, vel alii innumerabiles nostræ communionis episcopi; aut quia nostrorum collegarum conciliis ipsa prædicata est; aut quia per totum orbem in locis sanctis quæ frequentat nostra communio, tanta mirabilia vel exauditionum vel sanitatum fiunt. . . . Quæcunque talia in Catholica fiunt, ideo sunt approbanda, quia in Catholica fiunt; non ideo ipsa manifestatur Catholica, quia hæc in ea fiunt. Ipse Dominus Jesus cum resurrexisset a mortuis. . . . eos [i. e. discipulos] testimoniis Legis et Prophetarum et Psalmorum confirmandos esse judicavit. . . . Hæc sunt causæ nostræ documenta, hæc fundamenta, hæc firmamenta. Legimus in Actibus Apostolorum dictum de quibusdam credentibus, quod quotidie scrutarentur Scripturas an hæc ita se haberent; quas utique Scripturas nisi canonicas Legis et Prophetarum? Huc accesserunt Evangelia, Apostolicæ Epistolæ, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Johannis." *Id. ib. col. 373.*

“ but only through the Scriptures. Why? Because all those  
 “ things which are properly Christ’s in the truth, those heresies  
 “ have also in their schism; Churches alike, the divine Scrip-  
 “ tures themselves alike, *bishops alike, and the other Orders of*  
 “ *the clergy*, baptism alike, the Eucharist alike, and everything  
 “ else; nay, even Christ himself [i. e. the same in name].  
 “ Therefore, if any one wishes to ascertain which is the true  
 “ Church of Christ, whence can he ascertain it, in the confu-  
 “ sion arising from so great a similitude, but only by the  
 “ Scriptures? . . . Therefore the Lord, knowing that such a  
 “ confusion of things would take place in the last days, com-  
 “ mands, on that account, that the Christians who are in  
 “ Christianity, and desirous of availing themselves of the  
 “ strength of the true faith, should betake themselves to  
 “ nothing else but the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they shall  
 “ look to other things, they shall stumble and perish, not  
 “ understanding which is the true Church. And through this  
 “ they shall fall upon the abomination of desolation, which  
 “ stands in the holy places of the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ Id est, cum videritis hæresim impiam quæ est exercitus Antichristi stantem in locis sanctis Ecclesiæ, in illo tempore qui in Judæa sunt fugiant ad montes, id est, qui sunt in Christianitate conferant se ad Scripturas. . . . Montes autem sunt Scripturæ Apostolorum aut Prophetarum. . . . Et quare jubet in hoc tempore omnes Christianos conferre se ad Scripturas? Quia in tempore hoc, ex quo obtinuit hæresis illas ecclesias, nulla probatio potest esse veræ Christianitatis, neque refugium potest esse Christianorum aliud, volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, nisi Scripturæ divinæ. Antea enim multis modis ostendebatur quæ esset Ecclesia Christi et quæ Gentilitas; nunc autem nullo modo cognoscitur volentibus cognoscere quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi nisi tantummodo per Scripturas. Quare? Quia omnia hæc quæ sunt proprie Christi in veritate, habent et hæreses illæ in Schismate; similiter ecclesias, similiter et ipsas Scripturas divinas, similiter episcopos, cæterosque ordines clericorum, similiter baptismum, aliter [*similiter* or *atque* is evidently required by the context] eucharistiam et cætera omnia, denique ipsum Christum. Volens ergo quis cognoscere quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscat, in tantæ confusione similitudinis, nisi tantummodo per Scripturas? . . . . . Sciens ergo Dominus tantam confusionem rerum in novissimis diebus esse futuram, ideo mandat, ut Christiani qui sunt in Christianitate volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ ad nullam rem fugiant nisi ad Scripturas. Alioquin si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera Ecclesia. Et per hoc incident in abominationem desolationis quæ stat in sanctis Ecclesiæ locis.”

Surely he who wrote this was a prophet indeed ! Well might the Roman Inquisition put this work into their Index of prohibited books ; <sup>1</sup> and rase this passage, as far as they could, by Bellarmine's own confession, out of even the MSS.<sup>2</sup>

(2) That the only absolutely essential point is *doctrinal* succession ; that is, the holding the same faith the Apostles did ; and that where that faith is held, there, though perhaps labouring under irregularities and imperfections in other respects, Christ's Church is to be found, and consequently the presence of his Spirit.

The passages we have already quoted, clearly show, that whatever regard the Fathers had for the Apostolical Succession, they did not hold that its presence was a sure indication of the presence of Apostolical doctrine ; and that the former was of no value without the latter.

But it may be asked, Is the latter sufficient to make men members of the Church of Christ without the former ? It is a point on which we can hardly expect to find a definite and express decision in the early Fathers, on account of the general prevalence of the episcopal form of government. But, nevertheless, there are many passages from which we may fairly infer their mind on the question.

"The Church," says Jerome, "does not depend upon walls, but upon the truth of its doctrines. *The Church is there, where the true faith is.* But about fifteen or twenty years ago, heretics possessed all the walls of the Churches here. For, twenty years ago, heretics possessed all these Churches. But THE TRUE CHURCH WAS THERE, WHERE THE TRUE FAITH WAS."<sup>3</sup> A good answer this, by the way,

Opus Imperf. in Matth. hom. 49. Inter CHRYSOST. Op. tom. vi. App. p. 204. See also hom. 43. p. 183, where he says, "Cathedra non facit sacerdotem, sed sacerdos cathedram."

<sup>1</sup> See Index Auctorum et libr. qui ab Officio S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisit. caveri ab omnibus &c. mandantur. Rom. 1559. 4to. Under letter O.

<sup>2</sup> De Verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. This passage, also, is *omitted* in one, if not more, of the Romish editions of the book, viz., that printed Paris, 1557. 8vo. See James's Corruption of SS. and Fathers. Part ii. n. 2. p. 168. ed. 1688.

<sup>3</sup> "Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate. Ecclesia ibi



to the common question of the Romanists to the Protestant Churches, where their Church was before Luther.

Remarkable, also, is the testimony of Gregory Nazianzen on this subject, in his Encomium on Athanasius. Speaking of him as the successor of Mark in the episcopal throne of Alexandria, he says ;—He was “not less the successor of Mark in ‘his piety, than in his presidential seat ; in the latter, indeed, ‘he was very far distant from him ; but in the former, he is ‘found next after him ; *which, in truth, is properly to be considered succession. For, to hold the same doctrine is to be of ‘the same throne ; but to hold an opposite doctrine, is to be of ‘an opposite throne. And the one has the name, but the other ‘the reality of succession. For, not he who has come in by ‘force, but he who has been forced in, is a successor ; nor he ‘who has violated the laws, but he who has been advanced ‘legally ; nor he who holds an opposite doctrine, but he who ‘is of the same faith. Unless any one can thus call himself a ‘successor, he succeeds as sickness to health, as darkness to ‘light, as a storm to a calm, and as madness to intelligence.”<sup>1</sup>*

So the author of the commentary on Matthew above quoted says,—“Where the faith, there the Church is . . . but where ‘the faith is not, there the Church is not.”<sup>2</sup> And again ; —“He does not seem to go out of the Church who goes out

est, ubi fides vera est. Cæterum ante annos quindecim aut viginti, parietes omnes hic ecclesiarum hæretici possidebant. Ante viginti enim annos omnes ecclesias has hæretici possidebant. Ecclesia autem vera illic erat, ubi vera fides erat.” HIERON. in Psalm. 133. (Heb. num.) v. 1. Op. ed. Vallars. 1766. tom. vii. Append.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐχ ἦπτον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ προεδρίας διάδοχος· τῇ μὲν γὰρ πολλοστὸς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, τῇ δὲ εὐθὺς μετ’ ἐκείνου εὐρίσκεται, ἦν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ὑποληπτόον διαδοχὴν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον· τὸ δὲ ἀντίδοξον καὶ ἀντίθρονον. Καὶ ἡ μὲν προσηγορίαν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθειαν ἔχει διαδοχῆς. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ βιασάμενος, ἀλλ’ ὁ βιασθεὶς διάδοχος, οὐδὲ ὁ παρανομήσας, ἀλλ’ ὁ προβληθεὶς ἐν νόμῳ· οὐδὲ ὁ τάναντία δοξάζων, ἀλλ’ ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως. Εἰ μὴ οὕτω τις λέγοι διάδοχον, ὥς νόσον ὑγίειαν, καὶ φωτὸς σκότος, καὶ ζάλην γαλήνης, καὶ συνέσεως ἔκστασιν. GREGOR. NAZIANZ. Orat. in Athanas.—I quote it from the Benedictine edition of the works of Athanasius, tom. i. p. xciii. E.

<sup>2</sup> “Ubi est fides, illic est ecclesia . . . . ubi autem fides non est, ibi nec ecclesia est.” Opus Imp. in Matth. hom. 6. Inter CHRYSOST. Op. tom. vi. App. p. 51.



“bodily, but he who spiritually deserts the fundamentals of  
 “ecclesiastical truth. We have gone out from them [i. e.  
 “the heretics, whoever they were, who, he tells us, then  
 “possessed the Churches] in body, but they from us in  
 “mind. We have gone out from them in respect of place,  
 “they from us in respect of the faith. We have left with  
 “them the foundations of the walls, they have left with us  
 “the foundations of the Scriptures. We have gone out from  
 “them to human eyes, they from us in the judgment of God.”<sup>1</sup>

“Christ,” saith Ambrose, “did not deny to his disciple the  
 “favour of this name, [i. e. rock,] that he also may be called  
 “Peter, having, like the rock, unshaken constancy, even a  
 “firm faith. Strive, therefore, that thou also mayest be a  
 “rock. Therefore, seek the rock, not out of thyself, but  
 “within thyself. . . . Thy rock is faith, the foundation of  
 “the Church is faith. *If thou shalt be a rock* [i. e. have firm  
 “faith], *thou shalt be in the Church*, for the Church is on the  
 “rock.”<sup>2</sup>

Before I pass on, I would here point out to the notice of the reader, that in the appeal we make, in our controversies with the dissenters on some of the points we have been considering, to the records of the Primitive Church, there is no inconsistency with our rejection of Tradition as a certain witness of the oral teaching of the Apostles, however loudly we may have been accused of it. Our arguments against the dissenters in these matters do by no means, as they are

<sup>1</sup> “Non enim ille de Ecclesia exire videtur qui corporaliter exit, sed qui spiritualiter veritatis ecclesiasticæ fundamenta relinquit. Nos enim ab illis exivimus corpore, illi autem a nobis animo. Nos ab illis exivimus loco, illi a nobis fide. Nos apud illos reliquimus fundamenta parietum, illi apud nos reliquerunt fundamenta Scripturarum. Nos ab illis egressi sumus secundum aspectum hominum, illi autem a nobis secundum judicium Dei.” *Ib.* hom. 46. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> “Discipulo suo hujus vocabuli gratiam non negavit; ut et ipse sit Petrus, quod de petra habeat soliditatem constantiæ, fidei firmitatem. Enitere ergo ut et tu petra sis. Itaque non extra te, sed intra te, petram require. . . . Petra tua fides est, fundamentum Ecclesiæ fides est. Si petra fueris, in Ecclesia eris, quia Ecclesia supra petram est.” *AMBROS. Comment. in Luc. lib. vi. § 98.* (In c. 9. v. 21.) *Op. tom. i. col. 1407.*

charged with doing, "recoil and wound ourselves," nor "fall to the ground."<sup>1</sup> They are as consistent with our general views as they are in themselves valid and conclusive. The principle upon which our Church acts in this matter appears to me to be of the most simple and intelligible kind. In matters of pure doctrine she requires belief in nothing which is not, in her view, clearly testified in Scripture, while she appeals to the writings of the early Christian Fathers as affording a testimony strongly confirmatory of her interpretation of Scripture. In matters relating to rites and usages, for all that she puts forward as *intrinsically* necessary, she refers to Scripture as the proof of their being divinely or Apostolically appointed; and, as in the last case, points to the records of the early Church as affording confirmatory evidence to the validity of the proof derived from Scripture; and in other points, where she refers to the practice of the orthodox Primitive Church as a *justification* of her usage, she points to it *only* as a *justification* of it, and not as if the fact of their observance in the Primitive Church rendered them *intrinsically* necessary; but a sufficient justification and recommendation of those rites she does consider the usage of the *Apostolically-primitive* Church to be, because it cannot fairly be supposed, that they would have been generally observed at that very early period, if they had been unaccordant with the spirit of true Christianity, and consequently, that not only was she justified in requiring their observance, but dissenters were not justified in making such matters a ground for separation.

But that our opponents and the Romanists are inconsistent with themselves, may be very easily shown. For, they put forward the statements of a few Fathers as affording of themselves sufficient evidence of the Apostolical origin and *authority* of various doctrines and practices not recorded in Scripture. I ask, then, why they do not receive some which we have already proved<sup>2</sup> to have that evidence in their favour, as

<sup>1</sup> EYRE'S Reply to Churton, pp. 112, 116.

<sup>2</sup> See above, ch. v. § 8. vol. i. pp. 386 et seq., particularly pp. 397—399.

for instance, besides doctrines, the following practices, namely, standing at prayer on Sundays and during the period between Easter and Whitsuntide, the threefold immersion in baptism, and infant communion?

It would be easy to add others to the list, but these may suffice here.<sup>1</sup>

Our opponents will perhaps reply to these cases, that we cannot give sufficient evidence of antiquity, universality, and consent; and they may save themselves the trouble of *proving* it, for we grant it at once, not dreaming of being able to prove in *any* matter what *everybody always everywhere* said or did respecting it; and all we ask in return is, that they shall strike off their list of "Apostolical relics" all that have no better evidence, and we shall then have very little left to dispute about.

We now come to the points purely doctrinal for which it is said that we are indebted to Tradition.

Here, then, at the outset, we must remark, that if our reasoning hitherto has been correct, it follows, that if these doctrines depend upon Patristical Tradition, they are not binding upon the conscience, inasmuch as they have no sufficient evidence that they are a part of revealed truth.

But we must not pass them over without notice; and to the two latter, as more peculiarly belonging to the controversy raised by our opponents, I shall have to call the reader's especial attention.

(1) *The first is the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.*

To discuss this doctrine fully, and show the precise meaning of the language of the Fathers respecting it, would require far more space than we can here allot to it. Nor is it at all necessary in this place, for, after the observations of Dr. Pusey respecting it, it is somewhat extraordinary to see it so adduced. For, Dr. Pusey thinks, that it is "the obvious meaning of Scripture," and says that "with one who loved

<sup>1</sup> See BASIL, or PSEUDO-BASIL, De Spir. Sancto, c. 27; and MORTON's Cath. App. ii. 25. § 10. pp. 324, 5.

“his Saviour he should be content to rest the question upon “one passage,” namely, John iii. 5. (Preface to Tract on Baptism, p. vii.) If, then, it is so clear in Scripture, it does *not* rest upon “Tradition,” and therefore certainly can be no proof of the necessity of Tradition, or the imperfection in any sense of Scripture. Upon Dr. Pusey’s own showing, then, it has no place in the question we are now discussing. I shall only add, that by those who think that it is not clearly provable by Scripture, it is *at least* not maintainable as a *certain* truth, a truth of which we have sufficient evidence that it was divinely revealed.

In the question of infant-baptism, which is a point referring to ecclesiastical *practice*, we might, perhaps, infer with safety, from the statements of the early records of the Church, that infant-baptism was practised in the *Apostolically-primitive* Church, and hence that the Scriptural doctrine of baptism included infants as its subjects; but the point we are now speaking of is one of pure doctrine, referring to the spiritual and unseen effects of baptism, and therefore differently circumscribed.

The difference between the two cases is apparent; for, to give an instance, our opponents on the one hand, and those who take what is called the Calvinistic view of the subject on the other, would both be equally trustworthy witnesses of the fact, that the Church of England practised infant-baptism, while, nevertheless, on this doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, they are altogether disagreed as to what is the doctrine of that Church; which shows how different is the validity of such testimony, where the practice of the Church is concerned, and where doctrines are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The *second* instance given is, — *The virtue of the eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice.*

These words, however, require further explanation to show the meaning in which they are used; for, though from the connexion here maintained between “the *virtue* of the eucha-

<sup>1</sup> What the doctrine of our Church is on this subject, I have attempted to show in a work entitled, “The doctrine of the Church of England as to the effects of Baptism in the case of Infants.” 2d edit. 1850. 8vo.



rist," and its being a *sacrifice*, one might perhaps *infer* the doctrine intended, yet the word sacrifice is used so variously and may in some sense be so properly applied to the eucharist, that it is necessary to ascertain more fully what is meant by the words used.

In the 81st of the "Tracts for the Times," then, (which is on this subject, and professes to give a Catena of English divines favourable to the views of the Tractators,) the doctrine is thus stated. Admitting that there are in our Church-services but "*slight indications*" of the doctrine, which the writer ingeniously attributes to "the '*disciplina arcani*' of the Anglican Church" (!), though he thinks that the placing it so out of sight was to "tamper" with "the Apostolic deposit of sound words," he avers that "our Church retains" "the doctrine of a sacrifice in the Blessed Eucharist," (p. 2.) which, in a sense, nobody disputes, and then adds this description of it. "It " may be well, however, in these days, before going further, " to state briefly what that doctrine is . . . The doctrine, " then, of the early Church was this ; that ' in the Eucharist an " oblation or sacrifice was made by the Church to God, under " the form of his creatures of bread and wine, according to " our blessed Lord's holy institution, in memory of his cross " and passion ;' and this they believed to be the ' pure offering' " or sacrifice which the prophet Malachi foretold that the " Gentiles should offer ; and that it was enjoined by our Lord " in the words, ' Do this for a memorial of me' ; that it was " alluded to when our Lord or St. Paul speak of a Christian " ' altar,' (St. Matt. v. 23 ; Heb. xiii. 10,) and was typified " by the Passover, which was both a sacrifice, and a feast upon " a sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> . . . . This commemorative oblation or " sacrifice they doubted not to be acceptable to God who had " appointed it ; and so to be also a means of bringing down " God's favour upon the whole Church. And if we were to

<sup>1</sup> This is a mere repetition of the arguments of the Nonjurors, Hickes and Johnson ; of the former, in his " Christian Priesthood asserted," and of the latter, in his " Unbloody Sacrifice." I class Johnson with the Nonjurors because all his sympathies were evidently with them.

“analyze their feelings in our way, how should it be other-  
 “wise, when they *presented to the Almighty Father the symbols*  
 “*and memorials of the meritorious death and passion of his only*  
 “*begotten and well beloved Son, and besought him by that pre-*  
 “*cious sacrifice to look graciously upon the Church* which he  
 “had purchased with his own blood—offering the memorials  
 “of that same sacrifice which he, our great high priest, made  
 “once for all, and now being entered within the veil, un-  
 “ceasingly presents before the Father; and the representation  
 “of which he has commanded us to make? It is, then, to use  
 “our technical phrascology, ‘a commemorative impetratory  
 “sacrifice’ . . . . The Eucharist, then, according to them,  
 “consisted of two parts, a ‘commemorative sacrifice,’ and a  
 “‘communion,’ or communication; THE FORMER OBTAINING  
 “REMISSION OF SINS FOR THE CHURCH; the communion,  
 “‘the strengthening and refreshing of the soul,’ although, in-  
 “asmuch as it united the believer with Christ, it *indirectly*  
 “conveyed remission of sins *too*. The communion was (to use  
 “a modern phrase) the feast upon *the sacrifice thus offered*  
 “. . . . As being, moreover, appointed by their Lord, they  
 “believed that the continual oblation of this sacrifice (*like the*  
 “*daily sacrifice appointed in the elder Church*) was a benefit to  
 “*the whole Church*, independently and over and above the  
 “benefit to the individual communicants—that the sacrifices  
 “in each branch of the Christian Church were mutually of  
 “benefit to every other branch, each to all and all to each  
 “. . . . Lastly . . . they felt assured, that *THIS sacrifice*  
 “*offered by the Church on earth for the whole Church,*  
 “*conveyed to that portion of the Church which had passed into*  
 “*the unseen world such benefits of Christ’s death as (their*  
 “*conflicts over, and they in rest) were still applicable to them;*”  
 such benefits being supposed to be, among others, “additional  
 joys and satisfactions.” (pp. 4—7.)

And the time when this sacrifice is to be offered up is,  
 AFTER the consecration of the bread and wine, when they may  
 be considered more peculiarly to represent the body and blood  
 of Christ, as was the case in the Liturgy of 1549 and that

of the Scotch Prayer-Book, published under the supervision of Archbishop Laud in 1637. (pp. 35—38.) And the sacrifice is made by *the priest* in a strictly sacerdotal capacity, for the following language is quoted with approbation,—“The Church of England . . . considering the sacrament of “the Lord’s Supper to be a feast upon a sacrifice, to constitute it such, *makes* that which is feasted upon first a *sacrifice*, by having it *offered up by a priest*.” (p. 53.)

These extracts (it will, I suppose, be allowed) give a fair representation of the doctrine of our opponents; and while it is admitted, that some portions of them may be understood in a good sense, from the different way in which the terms employed have been applied, (which has enabled the author of this Tract to make a parade of authors as maintaining it who would have abhorred his doctrine,) the doctrine here taught is clearly this,—That besides an oblation of the elements, as bread and wine, to serve the purpose of making a memorial of Christ’s sacrifice, there is in the eucharist, properly celebrated, a second oblation, or solemn offering up to God of the elements, to be made *after* the act of consecration has given them the character of symbols of Christ’s body and blood;<sup>1</sup> and this second oblation is a *true and proper sacrifice*, to be made by the minister in a strictly sacerdotal character; and by this sacrifice is obtained (not, indeed, by its *intrinsic* merits, but by the merits of that sacrifice which it represents) *remission of sins for the whole Church, and some additional refreshment to the souls of the dead in the intermediate state*.

Remission of sins is thus obtained for the Church through the priest offering up to God, as a mediator and intercessor between God and the people, a sacrifice commemorative of the sacrifice of the cross, just as was the case in the expiatory

<sup>1</sup> Thus COLLIER, the Nonjuror, says,—“the word *oblations* in this prayer [the prayer for the Church militant] means no more than the offering of the unconsecrated bread and wine;” but “*the eucharistic oblation*,” he says, “is the offering of the *consecrated* elements, the sacramental body and blood of our Saviour, in memory of his sacrifice and passion.” See SHEPHERD on the Common Prayer, vol. ii. p. 193.

sacrifices under the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> And the "communion" is no part of THE sacrifice, but *only* a feast upon the sacrifice, and remission of sins is obtained for *the whole Church* without it, although, "inasmuch as it unites the believer with Christ, it *indirectly* conveys remission of sins too."

Such is the doctrine which our opponents maintain to be the doctrine of the Church of England derived to us from "Tradition," or the unanimous consent of Antiquity; and I most willingly admit, that we should look for it in vain in Scripture. And when the Tractator comes to speak of the Romish doctrine as distinct from the Anglican, he makes the difference to consist merely<sup>2</sup> in the doctrine that in the Mass Christ is as truly and really sacrificed as he was upon the cross, "that Christ himself is again offered." So that by his own statements his doctrine on this subject would appear to be, what indeed it is, the Romish doctrine of *the sacrifice of the Mass*, that is, as far as concerns the offerer, the mode of offering, and the effects produced.

To prove his doctrine to be that of the Anglican Church, he has introduced in this Tract a long Catena of extracts from English divines, claimed by him as maintainers of this doctrine. To notice this Catena in full does not fall within our present limits, but it is impossible to dismiss it without a remark, and by the fidelity and trustworthiness of this Catena we may judge of the value of our opponents' statements respecting the Fathers.

The Tractators are quite aware, how little ecclesiastical studies have prevailed until very lately among the great majority, and they have largely availed themselves of the *supposed* superficial knowledge of the generality on such sub-

<sup>1</sup> Hence it is here represented as a true and proper *propitiatory* sacrifice, (as it was called by Johnson, the Nonjuror,) that is, as much so as any of the sacrifices of the Old Testament; though, from its being only instrumentally and not intrinsically propitiatory as an instrument for applying the merits of that sacrifice of Christ of which it is commemorative, the word is sometimes objected to; and it is called only an impetratory sacrifice, that is, one which obtains for man instrumentally the benefits of that sacrifice which it represents.

<sup>2</sup> He adds, that they have corrupted the true doctrine by the error of purgatory, but that is a distinct question.



jects, and their want of acquaintance with the works of our great divines, and would fain lead us to suppose, that the views of such men as Brett, Johnson, and Hickes, were the views of all our best theologians, though, in the subject before us more especially, they have, I suspect, gone beyond what *some* even of *these* authors would have been inclined to maintain, for it is a vastly different thing to maintain the propriety of the elements being solemnly offered up to God after their consecration as a sacrifice commemorative of the sacrifice of the cross, and to *connect* with such oblation the doctrine which our opponents connect with it. Such an attempt, will, I trust, meet only with the success it deserves. But alas! such views are so gratifying to the pride of human nature in the clergy, that it is not to be wondered at if they should find many supporters.

We have already observed, that there are senses in which the word sacrifice may very properly be applied to the eucharist. *The whole action of the eucharist is a sacrifice of thanksgiving*, and such "sacrifice of praise," (Heb. xiii. 15,) as being a sacrifice of the heart, is one more acceptable to God than any material or external offering.

Moreover, the elements themselves may be called a sacrifice to God, not as things offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice to God, but as oblations to God, or things given and set apart for the service of God.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Cyprian rebukes the wealthy

<sup>1</sup> Waterland seems to object to the word *sacrifice* being at all applied to the elements, and hence opposes the notion of any *material* sacrifice in the eucharist, but if sacrifice be understood in the larger sense of the word, so as to include even the offerings of prayer and praise, as Waterland himself uses it, I see not why we should not allow the bread and wine used in God's service to be so called. The reader will observe, that in that sense of the word *sacrifice* in which alone it is applicable under the Christian dispensation, it is only equivalent to the word *oblation*; and the two, therefore, are used indiscriminately by the Fathers. And even Richard Baxter says,—“There are two several sorts of oblations which may lawfully be made (and fitly) at the communion.—1. The creatures of bread and wine should be offered or presented before God, as acknowledging him to be the creator and giver of all, and to desire his acceptance and benediction of them for that holy use. 2. Our alms or charitable contribution may be then fitly offered to God, that he may first accept it, and so it may be communicated to the Church and poor.” BAXTER’S Christ. Direct. Part iii. q. 98. ed. 1678. p. 151.

for coming to church "without a sacrifice," and "taking part of the sacrifice which the poor offered;"<sup>1</sup> it being customary then for the bread and wine to be brought by the communicants.

So also the consecrated elements might be called a sacrifice *figuratively*, as they *represent* and symbolically set forth the sacrifice of Christ; although it is evident, from the deductions of our opponents from such language, that it is inconvenient and dangerous phraseology, however harmless in its original use and signification.

Hence the doctrine maintained by any writer must be gathered, not from the bare use of certain terms, but from the meaning attached to them in his writings.

In this Tract, however, we have a vast heap of names and extracts strung together without the slightest notice of the different senses in which the word "sacrifice" has been used by them, or of the difference of *doctrine* in those who have used alike certain *words* and *names*, and find Hooker and the Nonjurors placed side by side, so as to lead the unsuspecting reader to suppose, that the "sacrifice" of the one was precisely the same as the "sacrifice" of the other; and in fact, whatever divines have used the word "sacrifice" in connexion with the eucharist seem to have been forthwith set down (with few exceptions) as supporters of *the Tractators' view* of "the Eucharistic sacrifice."

Now the writer of this Tract (if at least he is as learned as the professions of the Tractators would lead us to suppose) must have been perfectly aware, that many of the authors whom he has here quoted, would have utterly repudiated and reprobated the views of which he here quotes them as supporters. I will just give one instance by which the reader may judge of the fidelity and value of this Tract. The third author quoted in this Catena, as supporting the views of our

<sup>1</sup> "Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?" CYPR. De op. et eleemos. *circ. med.* Op. ed. Fell. Pt. 1. p. 203.

opponents on this question, is Hooker, and the proof is, that in one place he has said that the cup serveth for a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Now so far is Hooker from supporting the views of our opponents, that he distinctly says, not far from the passage quoted,—“Seeing then that *sacrifice is now no part of the Church ministry*, how should the name of priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as St. Paul applieth the name of flesh unto that very substance of fishes which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing. . . . The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like security of speech call usually the ministry of the gospel *priesthood*, in regard of that which the gospel hath proportionable to antient sacrifices, namely *the communion* of the blessed body and blood of Christ, although *it have properly now no sacrifice*. . . . in truth the word *presbyter* doth seem more fit and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *priest* with the drift of the whole gospel of Jesus Christ.”<sup>1</sup> With this passage before him the author of this Tract has placed Hooker upon his Catena for their doctrine of the sacrifice of the Eucharist; a passage which Waterland, who is accused by the Tract writer (p. 51) of taking too low a view of this doctrine, (he, in fact, denied *in toto* that for which our opponents are contending, viz. a *material* sacrifice in the bread and wine,) charges with going too far, and wishes to understand in a limited sense, as Mr. Keble is aware, as he has quoted it in his edition of Hooker, in a note on the passage.<sup>2</sup>

And after Hooker, and others *equally opposed with him to the views of our opponents*, come such men as Brett and Johnson and Hickes, whose views are so notoriously opposed to those of the great majority of our divines, and even of those quoted in this Catena, and whose meaning, therefore, when speaking of the sacrifice in the Eucharist is so different from that of others who may have used the same term on the subject, (a term used and insisted on by Beza himself,<sup>3</sup> and to

<sup>1</sup> HOOKER'S Eccles. Pol. v. 78.

<sup>2</sup> See KEBLE'S Ed. of Hooker's Works, vol. ii. p. 601.

<sup>3</sup> See WATERLAND'S Christian Sacrifice explained. Works, vol. viii. p. 161.



which in some sense *nobody objects*,) that I can only say, that if the writer of the Tract in question is as learned as we are taught to suppose, he must be a *bold* man. In so speaking, indeed, I am suppressing nine-tenths of the feeling with which every candid mind must view the matter.

But, as the author of this Tract is well aware, the matter is so entangled by the different meanings affixed to the terms used, and by the controversial writings of most of our divines on the subject having been replies to Romanists, and consequently mixed up with the question of transubstantiation, that it is difficult to show, by a few brief extracts, what the doctrine of our divines on this subject was; clearly as it may be seen in their works, taken as a whole. To those works, therefore, I must, for want of space, be content here to refer the reader; and the case of Hooker, already given, may show him the need of such a reference.<sup>1</sup>

That our Church, in her public Services, gives any countenance to the doctrine here maintained, is, as we have seen, all but given up. And it is curious to observe the way in which the Tractator attempts to get over this difficulty. In the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. there was inserted, at the conclusion of the Prayer of consecration, an address to God, in which our opponents hold that the consecrated elements were offered up to him in that sacrificial way for which they plead; which, in the revised Prayer-book, was OMITTED; and a part which followed it, was ordered, as now, to be used as a distinct prayer *after the communion*. For this alteration, which, if the views of our opponents are correct, involves a vital departure from the instituted mode of celebrating the ordinance, (for, by this sacrifice so *omitted*, remission of sins

<sup>1</sup> It is through the variety of senses attached to the words used, that the Tractator gets over that passage in our Homilies, in which we are exhorted to "take heed, lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice." The meaning of this passage, to an ordinary reader, and especially one acquainted with the language of our Services, would seem plain enough. But the Tractator, by assuming that the writer of the homily meant by sacrifice, such a sacrifice as would be produced by transubstantiation, interprets this passage to mean, that we must take heed, lest of a *commemorative sacrifice* it be made a real sacrifice of flesh and blood, such as transubstantiation would make it. See Tract 81. pp. 43, 4.



was to be obtained for the Church,) our opponents are, of course, driven to their wits' end to find a reason consistent with the supposition that our Church, in her Services, and our Reformers who drew them up as they now stand, maintain their views. And accordingly all is attributed to the weakness of Cranmer in listening to foreign advisers, and, at their instigation, *half* suppressing (for, of course, it would not do to allow that it was wholly suppressed,) the doctrine of the sacrifice, and leaving the Communion-Service in this vitally defective state; *in which state, be it remembered, our divines for three centuries have been content to leave it.* But the Tractator thinks, that "the restoration of the communion table [on the "accession of Queen Elizabeth] to the place which the altar "had formerly occupied, showed that the Church recognised "the doctrine which some of her heads had before *shrunk* "from avowing in the presence of the foreign Reformers, and "their disciples," (p. 19,) though this was, he admits, but a *half-avowal*. (p. 20.) And hence Edward VI.'s first Prayer-book is called "the *genuine* English Service-book." (p. 23.) And we are told, that the revisers of our Liturgy "confined "the verbal act of the sacrifice to the single prayer which "followed after the consecration," (p. 12.) that is, the prayer *after the communion*; so that the act of sacrifice now takes place *after the sacrifice has been CONSUMED*. If this is the *half* that remains of the doctrine of the sacrifice in our Service, the reader will probably be disposed to think that it can be of as little use to our opponents as the half that has been expunged. And our Tractator seems sometimes of the same opinion; unless it is by a slip of the pen that he has written, (speaking of the alterations made in the revision of the Prayer-book,) "All the beginning of the form of oblation was "omitted. . . . The remainder 'entirely desiring,' &c. was "placed (*mutatis mutandis*) after the delivery of the elements, "and consequently when their presence could no longer sanction "in any mind the idea of the actual offering up of Christ," and therefore, I suppose, not of any *emblematical offering up of Christ*; for the transposition affected one as much as the

other. (p. 31.) But our Tractator will have it, that "that portion of the prayer of consecration, which has been transposed and placed *after the actual communion*," is an "indication of the doctrine of the sacrifice;" for "the sense must remain the same, although its meaning is *less visible*, on account of its being disconnected from the actual visible elements, EXCEPT SO FAR AS A PORTION OF THE CONSECRATED ELEMENTS STILL REMAINS UPON THE ALTAR, whence it is recorded, that *Bishop Overall used it before the participation, as it was at first.*" (pp. 35, 36.)<sup>1</sup> So that although the elements may be all consumed when the prayer is uttered, this only makes the reference of the prayer to a solemn offering up of them to God, "*less visible*;" and perchance, adds the Tractator, there may be "a portion of the consecrated elements still remaining upon the altar," so that it may be considered as an offering up of *these unconsumed fragments*; and so much does the Service indicate this view, that Bishop Overall was obliged to break the rubric, and alter the Service, to make it do so. Such is the plain English of this passage. Alas! for the shifts to which the love of a theory will drive men! The reader will observe, also, that all this is maintained in the face of an acknowledged omission of the only part in the first Prayer-book that had any direct reference to the oblation or sacrifice contended for; and the retention of that part only that refers to the sacrifice of *praise and thanksgiving*, which is directed to be said, as if to put the meaning out of all question, *after the communion is over*.

The only other argument that I can find adduced in proof of the retention of the doctrine of the sacrifice in our present Service, (taken, that is, from the Service itself,) is, that "the preamble in the prayer of consecration" "implies the sacrifice," because it speaks of our continuing "*a perpetual memory*" of Christ's precious death, (p. 35); which we are to understand as signifying, contrary to the obvious meaning of the words, and contrary to the very significant *omission* of the sacrificial

<sup>1</sup> See also Tract 90. p. 60.

part of the Service, *that commemorative sacrifice* for which our opponents contend. This argument I leave with the reader.

Our Church countenances no such sacrifice of the consecrated elements to God ; but in the place of it, the offering up, by faith, of the true sacrifice of the cross upon the altar of the heart, in our prayers and praises, while we receive outwardly and corporally the emblems of that sacrifice ; emblems which, in the case of every faithful worshipper, are accompanied with a direct spiritual influence and blessing, uniting the believer with Christ the Head.

It would have been much more to the credit of the Tractator, if he had fairly allowed, with his own witness, Mede, that there was no such sacrifice countenanced in our Service. Mede, indeed, fairly admits, not only that there is no *such* sacrifice, (for he does not seem to plead for *such* a sacrifice,) but that our Church did not, at that time, *formally recognise* any sacrifice at all ; and the character of the oblation or sacrifice for which he contends, is clearly shown, when he says, that, “in deed and effect we do it, so often as we set the “bread and wine upon the holy table ; *for*, whatsoever we “set upon God’s table, is, ipso facto, *dedicated and offered “unto him ;*”<sup>1</sup> and *such* an oblation of the elements, no doubt, always takes place, whether formally recognised in the Service, or not ; but this is far from countenancing the doctrine of our opponents, which can be satisfied with nothing less than an oblation of the elements *after* consecration, when they have been set apart as sacramentally the body and blood of Christ ; and thus are considered to be available, when offered by a priest, for the remission of the sins of the whole Church. And so again, he says elsewhere, “There is nothing wanting to make this sacred *epulum*, “of which we speak, full out a sacrifice, but that we show, “That the viands thereof were *first offered unto God* ; that so “being his, He might be the *Convivator*, Man the *conviva*, or “the guest. And this the antient Church was wont to do ;

<sup>1</sup> MEDE’S Works, p. 376 ; and see Tract, p. 122.



“ this they believed our blessed Saviour himself did, when, at the institution of this holy rite, He took the bread and the cup into his sacred hands, and looking up to heaven, gave thanks and blessed. And, after his example, they first *offered the bread and wine unto God to agnize him the Lord of the creature*, and then received them from him again in a banquet, as the symbols of the body and blood of his Son.”<sup>1</sup> But this sacrifice is one of a very different kind from that which our opponents would introduce. And when he afterwards speaks of Christ being offered in the Eucharist commemoratively, he explains himself to mean, that, “ by this sacred RITE of bread and wine, we represent and inculcate his blessed passion to his Father;”<sup>2</sup> by which words, and his language elsewhere, it is evident that he means, that, by the whole Eucharistical act, we represent Christ’s passion to the Father; not that the minister offers up, as a priest, the consecrated bread and wine as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Father. And this clearly follows from the laudatory way in which he has quoted the following passage from Perkins. “ The ancient Fathers used to call the supper of the Lord, or *the whole action of the supper*, a sacrifice; and that for divers reasons . . . . Because it is a commemoration and also a representation unto God the Father of the sacrifice of Christ offered upon the cross . . . . In this sense the faithful, *in their prayers, do offer Christ* as a sacrifice unto God the Father for their sins, in being wholly carried away in their minds and affections unto that only and true sacrifice, *thereby to procure and obtain God’s favour to them;*” to which Mede adds, “ That which every Christian doth mentally and vocally, when he commends his prayers to God the Father, through Jesus Christ, making mention of his death and satisfaction; that, in the public Service of the Church, was done by that rite, which our Saviour commanded to be used in commemoration of him.”<sup>3</sup> By

<sup>1</sup> MEDE’S Works, pp. 372, 3.

<sup>2</sup> MEDE’S Works, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> MEDE’S Works, pp. 365, 366.



which he evidently means, that it is done in the public Service, not by the priest merely, but by all present; not as if this sacrifice was a propitiatory sacrifice to be offered only by the priest, to obtain remission of sins for the people, distinct from the communion to be participated in by the people. The doctrine of Mede, therefore, is at least very different from that of the Tractators on the subject.

Accordingly we find, that our opponents' friend and chosen witness, Dr. Brett, very distinctly charges the Church of England with a vital omission in her Eucharistic Service. I will transcribe some of his observations on this matter, and commend his *fair* and *open* dealing to the attention and imitation of the Tractators.

"I wish," says Dr. Brett, "he [i. e. Johnson] could have shewed us, where the Church of England has appointed such an oblation of the sacramental body and blood of Christ, as he speaks of, . . . or that she has not *wilfully* and *designedly* omitted it. *That it is omitted* in the Communion Office of the Church of England, is *evident* to all that are acquainted with that Liturgy; and that it was not *casually*, but *wilfully*, left out there, is no less evident, because not only in the Roman Canon. . . but also in the first reformed Liturgy of King Edward VI. there was such an oblation immediately following the words of institution . . . but in the second Liturgy of King Edward, and ever since, this prayer (that is, what the second reformers thought fit to *leave of it*,) has been removed to the post-communion, that it might not be used till after the elements were distributed and consumed. . . The words 'to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'. . as they are now placed in the post-communion *can by no means be applied to the material elements. For it is absurd to pretend that we may offer to God that which is not, or present to him that which we have eaten and consumed*. . . . This omission and transposition could not be made otherwise than with design. Consequently, the Church of England has wilfully and designedly omitted to make the oblation of the sacra-

“ mental body and blood of Christ ; and therefore, according to what Mr. Johnson says, she is *without excuse* as to this matter. . . . If it be but a very great defect, it ought to be corrected ; and if it is an *essential* one, it is of *fatal consequence*. And surely it is *essential*, if it be what our Saviour did and commanded us to do, as Mr. Johnson has proved it is, and the very words of institution teach us, and the practice of the whole Church, from the Apostles’ days to the Reformation, has been agreeable thereto.”<sup>1</sup>

How far our opponents agree in reality with these views, may be seen in Mr. Froude’s Remains, Mr. Newman’s Letter to Dr. Fausset, and Mr. Keble’s Preface to Hooker. By Mr. Froude it is said, that our present Communion-Service is “ a judgment on the Church,” and that there would be gain in “ replacing it by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter” (a euphemism for the Mass-book) ; by Mr. Newman, that our Reformers, in not adopting “ the Canon of the Mass,” which is called a “ sacred and most precious monument of the Apostles,” “ mutilated the tradition of 1500 years,” and that “ our present condition is a judgment on us for what they did ;”<sup>2</sup> and by Mr. Keble, that our Reformers, in their revision of the Prayer Book, have “ given up altogether the ecclesiastical “ tradition regarding certain *very material* points in the celebration, if not in the doctrine, of the Holy Eucharist.”<sup>3</sup> And yet, notwithstanding this, they publish a Tract, in which they endeavour to prove that our Communion-Service may be explained so as to be consistent with their views, and claim all the best of our English divines as supporters of them !

So much, then, for the claim made by the Tractators that their doctrine on this point is that of the Church of England.

I now proceed to the question, whether their doctrine is that of the Scriptures or the Primitive Church.

In their statements on this point are contained the four following propositions :—

<sup>1</sup> BRETT’S Collection of ancient Liturgies. Dissert. pp. 119—22.

<sup>2</sup> NEWMAN’S Lett. to Dr. Fausset, 2nd ed. pp. 46, 7.

<sup>3</sup> KEBLE’S Pref. to Hooker, p. 62.

1st. That the bread and wine, *after* consecration, are to be offered up to God by the minister, as a sacrifice commemorative of the sacrifice of the cross.

2dly. That the minister performs this act in a strictly sacerdotal character.

3dly. That by *this* sacrifice so offered by a priest, remission of sins is obtained for the whole Church.

4thly. That by this sacrifice so offered an additional refreshment is obtained for the souls of the dead in the intermediate state.

All these four propositions, then, we maintain to be contrary to the testimony of Scripture and the earliest Fathers.

1st. That the bread and wine, *after* consecration, are to be offered up to God by the minister, as a sacrifice commemorative of the sacrifice of the cross.

Whether there is any *intrinsic evil* in such an oblation of the elements, is *not here the question*. That the bread and wine, after that they have obtained by consecration a peculiar character, as things set apart as emblems of Christ's body and blood, should be solemnly offered up to God, as a memorial, as it were, of the sacrifice of the cross, *may* not be *in itself* an improper act, if it be understood, that the offering is made, not by the priest as a propitiation for the people, but by all the congregation by the hands of the priest as a commemorative representation of the sacrifice of Christ. And by this act, the body and blood of Christ might be said to be offered up, that is *figuratively* and *symbolically*, which is the only way in which they could be offered up by elements which, as the Fathers testify, are still bread and wine. And this was perhaps done by some in the fourth or fifth century, and was admitted into our first reformed Liturgy, but was done simultaneously and correspondently, as far as the succession of time would admit, with that *act of the heart* by which the true body and blood of Christ—the true sacrifice of the cross—were spiritually offered up to the Father in prayers and praises, as the only propitiation for our sins; which spiritual sacrifice is that which at all times is, as it were, the soul of the service,



and that upon which its value altogether depends. But, though the offering up of the consecrated symbols may not be *in itself* improper, yet there are objections to it, and our Church has thus judged. We have not either the testimony of Scripture, or of the Primitive Church, in its favour. And there is no inconsiderable danger, as I think facts teach us, that this external offering made through the hands of the minister, may be substituted for that spiritual offering up of the sacrifice of the cross upon the altar of the heart of each individual, upon which the value of the service to the individual communicant wholly depends. Nay more; *as we have no authority for so doing, it is an act which appears to savour strongly of presumption.*

First, let us consider the testimony of Scripture on this point.

The Tractator tells us, that the Fathers declare, "that it [the sacrifice] was enjoined by our Lord in the words 'Do this for a memorial of me.'"<sup>1</sup> I suppose he means Father Bellarmine and such like, for he will find, I suspect, no others; nor is it necessary to do more than place before him the observations of *his own witness*, Bishop Morton, not far from the passage he has quoted from him on this point. "To this purpose, he [*i. e.* Bellarmine], as others, insisteth upon the same words, *hoc facite*, saying, that 'Christ offered a sacrifice, and commanded it to be offered certainly in these words, *hoc facite*, *do this*, where the word *hoc*, this, doth demonstrate that which Christ did in the supper, viz., to sacrifice himself.' *Which is so empty and pithless a proof* that their own Jansenius, as it were, despairing of the issue, doth say, that 'notwithstanding this sacrifice cannot be effectually proved by this text of *hoc facite*, yet may it be proved by *tradition*.' Which causeth us to admire our adversaries' *vain pretences* who profess to expound Scriptures according to the consent of antient Fathers, and yet now their greatest doctor, Cardinal Bellarmine, when he contendeth for their great Diana, the Romish sacrifice of the Mass, and would prove it out of the words *hoc facite*, doth not, out of all the catalogue of antient Fathers, cite any one



“ that we find who interpreteth *facite* to be *sacrificate*. Neither  
 “ indeed can it be so enforced: for, as their Cardinal Jansenius  
 “ truly noteth, the pronoun *hoc*, *this*, ‘is to be referred not  
 “ only to the taking of the eucharist, but unto *all those parti-*  
 “ *culars which Christ is said forthwith to have done*; as namely,  
 “ the taking bread, giving of thanks, blessing, and breaking,  
 “ &c.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

“The plea from *hoc facite*,” says Dr. Waterland, “when  
 “ first set up, was abundantly answered by a very learned  
 “ Romanist; I mean the excellent Picherell, who wrote about  
 “ 1562, and died in 1590. Protestants also<sup>2</sup> have often con-

<sup>1</sup> MORTON'S Catholic Appeal, ii. 7. §§ 10, 11. pp. 177, 8. I would commend the whole of this chapter to the attention of the reader, and also his Treatise “Of the institution of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ,” 2d ed. enlarged. Lond. 1635. fol. (circulated with a fresh title-page in 1652, in which its title is, “Of the Lord's Supper;”) for though, from his controversy being with those who held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, his observations are not all strictly applicable to our present subject, yet they evidently *include* a defence of the view for which we are here contending. “As for the Protestants,” he says, “they, in their divine and public service, do profess Christ the Son of God to be *the only true priest* of the New Testament; who, being God and man, was only able to work in himself propitiation with God for man; and his sacrifice once offered upon the cross to be the all and only sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins; WHICH [i. e. *which sacrifice of the cross*] by an eucharistical and thankful commemoration (according unto the acknowledged tenour of antient Liturgies, ‘for all the faithful, whether martyrs, patriarchs, prophets, or Apostles, and all saints,) *they* present unto God as an effectual propitiation, both for the quick and the dead; *by the which* PRAYERS [so that the *prayers* offered by the heart are the *commemoration* outwardly betokened by the bread and wine] they apply *the same* propitiatory sacrifice unto the good of *all that are capable*.” (Cath. App. ii. 7. § 18. p. 188.) Here, then, we clearly see, that the true altar recognised by Bishop Morton, is the altar of the heart, from which, in the sacrifices of prayer and praise, Christ is offered up to the Father as an effectual propitiation, and his effectual propitiation is offered up by the communicants not only for themselves, but for the whole Church, including also even the dead, *so far* as to intercede for their future happy resurrection and possession of the promised inheritance, *the only prayers for them which, as Bishop Morton himself tells us, in the following chapter, (§ 2. p. 190,) pure Antiquity sanctions*.

<sup>2</sup> J. FORBES, p. 616. MORN. p. 212. SALMAS. Contr. Grot. p. 444. ALBERTIN. p. 498, 509. MORTON, b. vi. c. 1. p. 390. TOWNSON, p. 276. BREYNT, Depth and myst. p. 128. PAYNE, p. 9 et seq. PFAFF. p. 186, 220, 259, 269.

“futed it, and the Papists themselves, several of them, have long ago given it up. The other boasted plea drawn from the use of the present tense, in the words of the institution, has been so often refuted and exposed,<sup>1</sup> that I cannot think it needful to call that matter over again in an age of so much light and learning.”<sup>2</sup>

So that in these words at least we have no intimation of any such sacrifice.

We are also referred to the passages in the New Testament in which the word “altar” occurs; and the Tractator (Tract 81.) tells us, that “the early Church” held, that the Eucharist was “alluded to, when our Lord or St. Paul speak of a Christian altar. (St. Matt. v. 23: Heb. xiii. 10.)” But this certainly cannot be proved by anything bearing the appearance of Patristical consent, so that even Bellarmine himself admits, that it cannot be so urged,<sup>3</sup> and affirms, that the Apostles and writers of the New Testament, by the special guidance of the Holy Ghost, purposely forbore to insert in their writings the name of an altar;<sup>4</sup> and the passage in the Hebrews is generally interpreted as referring to *the altar of the cross*, a phrase which Waterland has shown to have been in common use with the Fathers.<sup>5</sup> But even if it could, (and some of the Fathers have given that interpretation,) we reply with their own witness on this subject, Bishop Morton, “Grant, that altar doth as naturally and necessarily infer a sacrifice as a shrine doth a saint, a father a son; yet so, as to distinguish when these things are properly and when *improperly* so called; knowing that the table of the Lord being called improperly an altar can no more conclude a sacrifice properly understood, than when as St. Paul calleth Titus, his son according to the faith, (which is improperly,) a man may contend, that St.

<sup>1</sup> PICHERELL, p. 62, 138. SPALATENS. p. 278. MASON, p. 614. MORTON b. vi. c. 1. p. 394. ALBERTIN. p. 74, 76, 78, 119. J. FORBES, p. 617. BEEVINT, p. 128. KIDDER & PAYNE. PFAFF. p. 232, 233.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix to Christian Sacrifice. Works, vol. 8. pp. 194, 5.

<sup>3</sup> BELLARM. De miss. lib. 1. c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. c. 17.

<sup>5</sup> WATERLAND'S Works. vol. 8, pp. 211, 12.

“ Paul was his proper and natural father, which is, according to the flesh.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, we grant, that the Lord’s table may be called *improperly* an altar, on several accounts, and therefore, the mere use of the word proves nothing in favour of the doctrine of our opponents. For, even were we to admit, that, according to *their* doctrine, the altar is only *improperly* an altar, yet, as we also hold, that it may be called *improperly* an altar, the mere name would, at least, prove no more for their view than for ours. And we readily concede, that these words, *altar*, *priest*, *sacrifice*, were used in the Church at a very early period, though not perhaps at the earliest. Bellarmine himself states, that the first Christians abstained from the use of such words up to the time of Tertullian ;<sup>2</sup> and hence bishop Morton justly observes, “ If, therefore, some Protestants, calling to mind the temperance of the primitive age, which, as is confessed, abstained from the names of priesthood and temples,—we add that which we have proved, and from *altars*,—have misliked the liberty of succeeding Fathers for alteration of the phrase, they are not herein to be judged adversaries, but rather zealous emulators and favourers of true Antiquity.”<sup>3</sup>

But it appears to me, I confess, both difficult to determine any precise period at which the use of the word “ altar ” to express the communion-table arose, and also a matter of indifference. For, all that we are concerned with is, whether the name was used properly or improperly.<sup>4</sup> And that it was used only metaphorically, seems to me capable of easy proof,

<sup>1</sup> MORTON’S Cath. App. ii. 6. § 1. p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> BELLARM. De cult. sanct. lib. 3. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> MORTON’S Cath. App. ii. 6. § 2. p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> “ Howbeit,” says Bishop Jewel, “ the old learned Fathers, as they oftentimes delighted themselves with these words, *Sabbatum*, *Parascève*, *Pascha*, *Pentecoste*, and such other like terms of the Old Law, notwithstanding the observation and ceremony thereof were then abolished and out of use; even so likewise they delighted themselves oftentimes with these words, *sacerdos*, *altare*, *sacrificium*, *the sacrificer*, *the altar*, *the sacrifice*, notwithstanding the use thereof were then *clearly expired*, only for that the ears of the people, as well of the Jews as of the Gentiles, had been long acquainted with the same.” JEWEL’S Reply to Harding, art. 17. Works, ed. 1611. p. 410.



from this simple and undeniable fact, that when Celsus and others accused the Christians of not having any altars, they *admitted that they had none*, and justified the fact, as we learn from Origen, Minutius Felix, and Arnobius.<sup>1</sup>

But our opponents will perhaps say,—True, they denied that they had altars, but then they meant only such altars as received bloody sacrifices, and not such altars as we contend for. Let us observe, then, in what words Origen makes this denial. To the charge of Celsus on this head, Origen replies, “He sees not, that *our altars* are *THE MIND of each of the* “*righteous*, from whence are sent up truly and intelligently “incense offerings of sweet savour, even the prayers that “proceed from a pure conscience.”<sup>2</sup> This passage, then, is completely conclusive against such an answer as we have supposed,—namely, that they denied that they had altars *only* because their sacrifices were not bloody, and therefore their altars only improperly called altars,—because then this distinction would have been drawn by Origen; but, on the contrary, he admits the charge fully, and replies, that our *hearts* are our *altars*, showing that the true sacrifice in the eucharist was the offering up of Christ upon the altar of the heart, in our prayers and praises. And the same answer is made to Julian upon a similar occasion by Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup>

Further, we are referred to the prophecy in Malachi (i. 10, 11), and told, that the early Church believed this sacrifice to be “the ‘pure offering’ which Malachi foretold that the Gentiles should offer.” Now, so far is this from being the case, that we have the clearest evidence, that they understood the passage in a different sense, even when they made it refer directly to the eucharist. This may be seen in the passage already quoted above from Justin Martyr,<sup>4</sup> where, after refer-

<sup>1</sup> ORIG. Contr. Cels. viii. § 17. Op. ed. Ben. i. p. 755. MIN. FELIX in Octav. § 32. ARNOB. Adv. Gent. vi. & vii.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐχ ὁρῶν, ὅτι βωμοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἐκείνου τῶν δικαίων ἡγεμονικόν, ἀφ’ οὗ ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς εὐώδη θυμιάματα, αἱ προσευχαὶ ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς. ORIGEN *ut supra*.

<sup>3</sup> CYRILL. ALEX. Contr. Julian. lib. 10. pp. 343, 345. 350. Op. tom. vi. ed. Aubert.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 230, 231 above.



ring to this very passage, he describes the sacrifices in these words:—"That therefore both prayers and thanksgivings "made by the worthy are the only perfect and acceptable "sacrifices to God, I also affirm. For, *these alone* Christians "have been taught to perform, both for a memorial of their "food, both as to meat and drink, and one in which a com- "memoration is made of the passion which God [*read*, the "Son] of God suffered for them." Here, then, it is distinctly stated, with reference to this passage of Malachi, that the only sacrifices offered to God in the eucharist were those of prayer and thanksgiving.

Again, how does Irenæus interpret this passage? He distinctly interprets the pure offering to be,—not such a sacrifice as our opponents mean, but—the oblation of the bread and wine to God as the firstfruits of his gifts. "Giving counsel," he says, "to his disciples to offer to God the *firstfruits of his creatures*,—not as if God needed them, but that they might "be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful,—he took the bread "which is of the creature, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is "my body;' and in like manner, the cup which is of the "creature, which is according to us, he confessed to be his "blood; and taught the new oblation of the New Testament, "which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers "throughout the whole world to God, who gives us our food, "as *the firstfruits of his gifts* under the New Testament, of "which Malachi, in the Twelve Prophets, thus prophesied," quoting Mal. i. 10, 11.<sup>1</sup>

And hence we may see the meaning of that passage in

<sup>1</sup> "Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit et gratias egit, dicens, 'Hoc est meum corpus.' Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ea creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem; quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento, de quo in Duodecim Prophetis Malachias sic præsignificavit, Non est mihi voluntas in vobis," &c. IREN. Adv. Hær. iv. 17. p. 249. ed. Mass. (iv. 32. p. 323. ed. Grab.)

Justin Martyr, in which, alluding again to this passage of Malachi, he says,—“ But he there utters a prediction concerning the sacrifices offered up to Him in every place by us Gentiles, that is, of the bread of the eucharist, and the cup likewise of the eucharist, and says that we glorify His name, and that you profane it.”<sup>1</sup> Here Justin Martyr appears, like Irenæus, to have regarded the bread and wine as themselves, in a sense, (as undoubtedly they are,) a sacrifice to God; while by comparing this with the passage we have just quoted from him, it is no less evident, that he esteemed the sacrifice of prayer and praise to be the great and all-important sacrifice in this service.

Further, Tertullian does not even apply the passage at all, i. e. in any express terms, to the eucharist in particular, but to the sacrifices of prayer and praise generally. After quoting this passage in his Treatise against the Jews, and annexing to it Ps. xvi. 7, 8, he adds, “ For that we ought to sacrifice to God not with earthly but with spiritual sacrifices, we thus read in Scripture, ‘ A broken and contrite heart is God’s victim,’ and elsewhere, ‘ sacrifice to God *the sacrifice of praise*, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.’ In these words, therefore, the spiritual sacrifices of praise are designated, and a broken heart is shown to be an acceptable sacrifice to God . . . And of *spiritual sacrifices* he adds these words, ‘ *And in every place pure sacrifices shall be offered to my name.*’ [Mal. i. 11.]”<sup>2</sup> And so again in another place

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τῶν θυνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἔργου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε, εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν. JUST. MART. Dial. cum Tryph. § 41. Op. ed. Ben. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> “ Cur itaque postea per Prophetas prædicat Spiritus futurum, ut in omni terra aut in omni loco offerantur sacrificia Deo, sicut per Malachiam angelum unum ex Duodecim Prophetis dicit, ‘ Non recipiam sacrificium de manibus vestris, quoniam ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem nomen meum clarificatum est in omnibus gentibus, dicit Dominus Omnipotens; et in omni loco offeruntur sacrificia munda nomini meo.’ Item in Psalmis David dicit: ‘ Adferte Deo patriæ gentium,’—indubitate quod in omnem terram exire habebat prædicatio Apostolorum,—‘ Adferte Deo claritatem et honorem, adferte Deo sacrificia nominis ejus; tollite hostias, et introite in atria ejus. Namque quod

he speaks still more plainly, where, quoting this passage of Malachi,—“In every place a sacrifice shall be offered to my name, even a pure sacrifice,”—he immediately adds, “*NAMELY, the ascription of glory, and benediction, and praise, and hymns.*”<sup>1</sup> And again,—“As Malachi says, . . . ‘In every place sacrifice shall be offered to my name, even a pure sacrifice,’ *NAMELY, sincere prayer from a pure conscience.*”<sup>2</sup>

Statements of other Fathers<sup>3</sup> might be quoted of a similar import, but these are, I suppose, amply sufficient.

That the passage includes a reference to the eucharist, as one, and perhaps the most important, of the spiritual sacrifices of the Christian, I have no doubt; and this it is evident the Fathers considered it to do; but the earliest and best of them, at least, did not, as we have seen, refer it to that exclusively, nor give the least countenance, but the contrary, to our opponents’ *application* of it. That the passage, therefore, can be taken as proving any such sacrifice, when the Fathers so clearly testify that the spiritual sacrifices of prayer and praise fully satisfy the meaning of it, cannot of course be admitted.

I need hardly observe, that the argument is, like almost all those of our opponents, an arrow taken from the quiver of the Romanists, and thus is it replied to by their own witness, Bishop Morton. “As little help can they hope for from the second place of Malachie, which the most Fathers expound of *other spiritual sacrifices*, such as is the preaching

non terrenis sacrificiis sed spiritalibus Deo litandum sit, ita legimus ut scriptum est; Cor contribulatum et humiliatum hostia Deo est. Et alibi; Sacrifica Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua. Sic itaque sacrificia spiritalia laudis designantur, et cor contribulatum acceptabile sacrificium Deo demonstratur. . . . De spiritalibus vero sacrificiis addit, dicens, Et in omni loco sacrificia munda offerentur nomini meo, dicit Dominus.” TERTULL. Adv. Jud. c. 5. Op. ed. 1664. pp. 187, 8.

<sup>1</sup> “Ut pariter concurreret et Malachiæ prophetia, ‘Non est voluntas mea, dicit Dominus, . . . et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum;’ *gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio et laus et hymni.*” TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iii. 22. Op. ed. 1664. p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> “Dicente Malachia, ‘Non est voluntas mea in vobis . . . et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum;’ *scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura.*” TERTULL. Adv. Marc. iv. 1. Op. ed. 1664. pp. 413, 414.

<sup>3</sup> See HIERON. in Zech. c. 8. vv. 7, 8.



“ of the Gospel (Tertull.), sacrifice of prayers from a pure heart (Euseb.); sacrifice of all gifts of devotion offered in Christian assemblies (Iren. & Just. Mart.); the sacrifice of all godly actions (Euseb.); and such like . . . . But what shall we need to prove our interpretation of this text to be true whereunto their own great doctor, Montanus, hath so fully subscribed ?” It “ must be expounded, as their own Montanus sheweth, of *spiritual sacrifice*. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Ye are a royal priesthood. Rev. i. 6. Even kings and priests unto God. Ar. Mont. in Mal.”<sup>1</sup>

Still further, we have positive evidence in Scripture *against* such a notion. How is it to be reconciled, for instance, with what is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Apostle, after having spoken of the frequently-recurring sacrifices of the Old Testament, contrasts with them the “ one ” sacrifice of the New. “ This man,” he says, “ after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God . . . . For by *one offering* he hath *perfected for ever them that are sanctified*, whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us . . . . their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where remission of these is, there is *no more offering for sin*. Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus . . . . let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith,” &c. (Heb. x. 12 et seq.) Words cannot more clearly show, that there is no such sacrifice appointed under the New Testament as the Tractators dream of. For, the sacrifice advocated by them is as much a propitiatory sacrifice as were any of those of the Old Testament. For *they* had no value in themselves, but only as they represented the one great sacrifice.

And the true nature of the eucharist is very forcibly shown in a passage of the same Apostle elsewhere : “ Christ our passover,” he says, “ is sacrificed (ἐθύθη, *has been sacrificed*) for us, therefore let us *keep the feast*.” (1 Cor. v. 7, 8.) The sacrifice, then, has been already offered, and it remains for us to keep the feast in thankful remembrance of it, and thanksgiving to God for its benefits.

<sup>1</sup> MORTON's Cath. App. ii. 7. § 2. p. 167.



Let us now proceed to inquire, what the language of the earlier Fathers is on this subject.

We have already had occasion to observe the terms in which Irenæus speaks of the sacrifice in the eucharist, and we learn from him, that the sacrifice, as far as regarded the elements themselves, was an oblation of them to God *either before or in the act of consecration*, not *after*,—not as the symbols of Christ's body and blood, but as his creatures of bread and wine,—that, having received his blessing, they might afterwards be partaken of, with a grateful remembrance of God's mercies, *temporal and spiritual*.

And in another place he speaks still more clearly,—“It becomes us to make an oblation to God, and to be found in all things grateful to God our Creator, offering to him with a pure mind and faith without hypocrisy, in firm hope, in fervent love, *the firstfruits of his creatures*. And *this pure oblation* the Church alone offers to the Creator, offering to him of *his creature* with thanksgiving.”<sup>1</sup>

This oblation, or sacrifice, then, is altogether different from that for which our opponents contend; and this sacrifice, as Mede observes, is in effect offered, “so often as we set the bread and wine upon the holy table; for, whatsoever we set upon God's table is *ipso facto* dedicated and offered unto him.” Such an oblation or sacrifice, therefore, is virtually made, whether recognised or not, whenever the eucharist is celebrated. Even Bullinger seems to admit, that the bread and wine may in this sense be considered *oblations*, observing, that “it was a very common custom in the antient Churches to offer bread and wine in the holy congregation for the use of the ministers and the poor, from which also was taken the bread and wine which were set forth in the Lord's Supper. We may see this in Cyprian and other antient writers. And

<sup>1</sup> “Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere et in omnibus gratos inveniri Fabricatori Deo, in sententia pura et fide sine hypocrisi, in spe firma, in dilectione ferventi, primitias earum quæ sunt ejus creaturarum offerentes. Et hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram [*pura legit Grab.*] offert Fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus.” IREN. Adv. Hær. iv. 18. p. 251. ed. Mass. (iv. 34. p. 326. ed. Grab.)

“ of these *oblations* there is frequent mention in the collects “ of the Masses.”<sup>1</sup> And so far as concerns an oblation or sacrifice of the elements, of this kind, in the eucharist, it is, as the learned Pfaff has observed, a mere logomachy to contend about it.<sup>2</sup>

And such an oblation is implied in our Service when the bread and wine are dedicated to a sacred use in the Prayer of consecration; and when we say,—“ Grant that we receiving “ *THESE thy creatures of bread and wine*, according to thy Son “ our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance “ of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most “ blessed body and blood,”—we, as it were, direct the attention of our heavenly Father to the elements as placed upon his Table, and recognise them as there offered up for his service, to be applied to the sacred purpose of representing the body and blood of Christ. But it is obvious, that such an oblation differs *toto cælo* from that for which our opponents contend, which is an oblation of the *consecrated* elements to God *as* symbolically *the body and blood of Christ*, as a *sacrifice like the sacrifices of the Old Testament*, to be offered moreover by the priest solely, acting in a strictly sacerdotal character, and which obtains for the Church remission of sins.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Adjicimus illis, receptissimum fuisse ecclesiis illis vetustis cibum et potum offerre in cœtu sacro ad usum ministrorum et pauperum, ex quibus deligebatur etiam panis et vinum, quæ in Cœna Domini proponebantur. Videre hoc licet in Cyprino et aliis vetustis scriptoribus. Harum vero oblationum frequens fit mentio in Missarum collectis,” &c. BULLINGER. De orig. erroris, lib. ii. c. 4. Tigur. 1568. fol. 106.

<sup>2</sup> “Ut vero sententiam nostram candide dicamus, omnino arbitramur, hanc de oblatione panis viniq̃ue controversiam in meras λογολαχίας abire. Panem quippe vinumq̃ue, quibus Eucharistia conficitur, Deo consecrandum, dedicandum, precibusq̃ue offerendum esse quis negaverit?” C. M. PFAFFII Dissert. de oblatione vet. euchar. *ad fin.* Iren. Fragm. Anecd. Hagæ Com. 1715. p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> In the first edition of this work, I remarked here, that when in the Prayer for the Church Militant we beg of God to receive our “alms and *oblations*,” the term “oblations” referred to the bread and wine, as being offered by the people, who now provide them as of old they used themselves to bring them. Speaking theologically, I still see no objection to the use of the word in this sense; but further consideration has made me very doubtful whether the word was intended to be used in that sense in our Prayer-book. Amidst the various arguments that may be alleged on each side of the question, there is one on the

Still more plainly speaks (as we have seen) Justin Martyr, who, overlooking altogether, in one passage we have quoted, *any material sacrifice* in the eucharist, from its comparative

negative side which I cannot get over. The marginal rubric to the Prayer for the Church Militant says,—“If there be no *alms or oblations*, then shall the words ‘of accepting our alms and oblations’ be left out unsaid.” It is considered possible, therefore, that there may be neither *alms nor oblations*, though in the preceding rubric the priest had just been directed to place the bread and wine on the Table. Hence it seems necessarily to follow, that the bread and wine are not meant by the word “oblations.”

And I think that, upon reference to the former Prayer-Books, and the custom of our Church, we shall easily find the true meaning of the word. It was first introduced at the revision in 1662. Now, it had been the custom of our Church from the Reformation to have two distinct collections made at the period of the Offertory, one consisting of “alms” for the poor, which were put at once into the poor man’s box, without being brought to the Lord’s Table at all; the other consisting of “offerings” to the minister, which were paid to him personally at the Communion-Table. This we learn from the rubrics of the previous Prayer-Books. The rubric in that of 1549 was,—“Whiles the clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor man’s box, every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And at the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings.” In the Prayer-Books of 1552, 1559, and 1604, the rubric was, “Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor man’s box; and upon the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings.” It had, I suppose, been found inconvenient, that the people should be all going themselves to the poor man’s box, and therefore persons were appointed to collect from them in their seats. And correspondent to this double collection in the Offertory were the Sentences to be read in it; some of them relating solely to gifts to the poor, some solely to gifts to the clergy, and some applicable to both. And in a note on this rubric, in the handwriting of Bp. Cosin, it is said, “It was one of the Injunctions set forth by the authority of K. Henry viii. in the Convocation of his clergy, A. 1536, to be generally observed in the Church of England, ‘That the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, [*add, of Easter,*] of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be accounted, accepted; and taken for the *four general offering-days*.’ WHICH ORDER IS AMONG US IN SOME PLACES STILL OBSERVED.” (Additional notes on Communion-Service, p. 42; inserted at end of Dr. Nicholls’ Comment on the Book of Common Prayer, 1710. fol.)

But it appears, that this custom of the people all coming up to the minister to present him with their offerings was found inconvenient; and consequently in a Paper drawn up by Bishop Cosin, entitled “Particulars to be considered, explained, and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer,” (to which, says Dr.



want of value, places the sacrifice wholly in the prayers and thanksgivings offered. "Prayers and thanksgivings made by the worthy," says Justin Martyr, speaking of the sacrifices of the New Testament mentioned by Malachi, "are the only

Nicholls, "it is plain" that the Reviewers of the Book in 1662 "had very great regard," "they having altered most things according as was therein desired,") we find the following suggestion,—*"In the Rubric following the Sentences of the Offertory, 'The Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed,' are ordered to 'gather the devotions of the people, and to put the same into the poor man's box;' which being seldom or never observed in most Churches, nor agreeing to the divers Sentences, before set down, would [?] should] be otherwise here ordered or explained. And the accustomed offerings to the Curate are here appointed to be 'paid by every man or woman, after which done the priest shall say,' &c., which if it should be thus observed, and at this time when they come to receive the communion, would breed a great disturbance in the Church, and take up more time than can be allowed for that purpose. Wherefore it is needful, that some alteration were made of this Rubric, and that the OFFERINGS OR DEVOTIONS OF THE PEOPLE THEN COLLECTED SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE PRIEST, AND BY HIM PRESENTED AND LAID UPON THE ALTAR, OR COMMUNION-TABLE, for such uses as be peculiarly named in the Sentences then read by him."* (Addit. Notes, &c., p. 69, at end of Dr. Nicholls' Comm., &c.) Here we see distinctly the meaning of the expressions in the present rubric, and the grounds which led to their adoption, and to the change made in the mode of collecting. According to the advice here tendered, the collection for *both* purposes was to be made by persons appointed for that purpose, and *all* brought to the priest to be by him laid upon the Communion-Table; and the collection made was to be applied to the purposes mentioned in the Sentences read at the time; so that it might be applied either solely as alms for the poor, or solely as offerings or oblations for the clergy, or as *both*.

It may be well to add, that Bishop Andrews had long before suggested, that the people "should not pay the offering to the Curate alone, but to God upon the altar; from whence the Curate has his warrant to take it, as deputed by him," &c. (Addit. Notes, &c. p. 42; in Dr. Nicholls' Comment. &c.)

And in strict accordance with this suggestion of Bishop Cosin and the interpretation I have given to it, is the new rubric inserted at the review in 1662, which runs thus,—*"Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent basin to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table."* And by a new rubric introduced at the end of the Service to meet this new arrangement, it is directed, that "the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the Minister and Churchwardens shall think fit. Wherein if they disagree, it shall be disposed of as the Ordinary shall appoint." By which rubric the apportionment of the sum collected, either to the maintenance of the



"perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God. *These alone Christians have been taught to perform*, both for a memorial of their food both as to meat and drink, and one in which a commemoration is made of the passion which God [read, the Son] of God offered for them."<sup>1</sup> The oblation of the elements themselves is here as it were put out of sight as *comparatively* of no moment, and the memorial is made to consist wholly in the "prayers and thanksgivings" offered.

clergy, the general purposes of the Church, or the relief of the poor, is left to the discretion of the Minister and Churchwardens.

In further illustration of the use of the word "oblations" in this sense, we may observe, that the rubric in the Scotch Liturgy, drawn up under Laud's supervision in 1637, directs, that "one of the Churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the people then present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the OBLATIONS THEREIN, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table;" and by another rubric it is ordered, that, "after the Divine Service ended, that which was *offered* shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Churchwardens, *whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity*; the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that Church, or the public relief of their poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Churchwardens."

Of course it is unnecessary to show, that there is abundant authority for the use of the word "oblations" in such a sense; as for instance in the rubric of the Scotch Liturgy of 1637 just quoted, and constantly in our best writers on such subjects.

It may be added, that, originally, that is, in the first reformed Prayer-Book of 1549, the oblations to the clergy were to include a sum of money to be given every Sunday for the cost of the elements, which were at that time to be provided by the minister. The rubric says,—“And forasmuch as the Pastors and Curates within this realm shall continually find of their costs and charges in their Cures sufficient bread and wine for the holy Communion, (as oft as their Parishioners shall be disposed for their spiritual comfort to receive the same,) it is therefore ordered, that in recompense of such costs and charges the Parishioners of every Parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf, (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same,) to the use of their Pastors and Curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf.” (Rubr. at end of Comm. Serv.) From this portion of the oblations to the clergy the people were exempted at the next revision of the Liturgy, in 1552, and have continued so ever since; the Churchwardens being directed to supply the bread and wine at the cost of the Parish.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 230, 231 above.

There is also another remarkable passage in his first Apology to the same effect. "Who, therefore, in his senses," he says, "will not confess, that we are not atheists, who-worship the Maker of this Universe, and say, as we have been taught, that he is in no need of blood and libations, and incense, praising him to the best of our ability for all the blessings we enjoy, *with the words of prayer and thanksgiving*,<sup>1</sup> both on account of our creation and all the means of health, and the qualities of his productions, and the changes of seasons, and uttering supplications that we may again enjoy eternal life through faith which is in him; having been taught, that *this honour is alone such as is worthy of him*, namely, not to consume by fire those things that were given by him for food, but to apply them for *our own use and that of those who are in want*, and with hearts grateful to him to send forth *by words* devotions and hymns."<sup>2</sup>

Nothing can well be more explicit and to the point than this passage.

Nor should we overlook the account given by Justin Martyr of the primitive form of the Eucharistic Service, because, if our opponents' views were correct, we could hardly fail to find there some notice of their supposed sacrifice. But do we find it? These are his words:—"There is then brought to him who presides over the brethren [assembled] bread, and a cup of water and wine; and he having taken them pours forth praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and Holy Spirit, and makes a thanksgiving for our being considered worthy of these things by Him; and when

<sup>1</sup> Λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις αἰνοῦντες. The Benedictine translation of ἐφ' οἷς π. π. "*in his omnibus quæ offerimus*" would require προσφέρωμεν. The word προσφερόμεθα is, I conceive, of the middle voice.

<sup>2</sup> Μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γενόμενα, οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας, διὰ λόγου πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν. JUST. MART. Apol. 1. § 13. Op. ed. Ben. pp. 50, 51. The word πομπὰς (if it be really the true reading) has, I suppose, a reference to the ceremonies of the heathen in honour of their gods, but the words διὰ λόγου clearly show to what sort of Christian acts of religious devotion it refers.

" he has ended the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people  
 " present assent, saying, Amen. But *Amen* in the Hebrew  
 " tongue signifies *so be it*. And the president having given  
 " thanks, and all the people assented, those that are called by  
 " us, deacons, distribute to each of those present of the bread  
 " and wine and water over which thanks have been thus given,  
 " to be partaken of by them; and carry part away to those  
 " that were not present."<sup>1</sup> And further on he repeats the  
 account in words of precisely the same import.<sup>2</sup>

I ask with confidence, Is this account *reconcilable* with the notions of our opponents? Is there here any such sacrifice, or altar, or priest, as they dream of? No; here we have in its original simplicity the sacred rite instituted by our Lord, and delivered to us in the Scriptures of the Apostles.

Lastly, Tertullian, as we have seen, invariably describes the sacrifice of the New Testament mentioned by Malachi, as a " spiritual" sacrifice, " the sacrifice of praise," " the ascription of glory, and benediction, and praise, and hymns," " sincere prayer from a pure conscience."<sup>3</sup>

Now, whether there was, or was not, at a subsequent period, an oblation of the elements *after* consecration, such oblation, also, being then considered more peculiarly the *external* sacrificial part of the eucharist, I argue thus: Is it possible to reconcile the language of Irenæus and Justin Martyr with the supposition that it was so in their time, or at least in their part of the Church, which is enough for our purpose? I submit with confidence that it is not. I say, not merely

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος [afterwards called οἶνον]. Καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὴ ποιεῖται οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἁμήν. Τὸ δὲ ἁμήν, τῇ Εβραϊδὶ φωνῇ, τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παρούσιν ἀποφέρουσι. JUST. MART. Apol. 1. § 65. Op. ed. Bened. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. § 67. p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 371, 372 above.



that *our opponents' notion* of the *nature and effects* of this sacrifice is opposed by their testimony, because *that* is opposed by all pure Antiquity, but also that these testimonies are distinctly opposed to the notion that there was at that time any such oblation or sacrifice as a *second* offering up of the elements, taking place *after* their consecration. For had it been so, this would have been more especially and peculiarly that part of the Service which had the sacrificial character, as our opponents (justly according to their view) represent it to be, whereas Irenæus expressly represents the sacrificial part of it, *as far as concerns any sacrifice of the elements themselves*, to consist in the oblation of the bread and wine *as the first-fruits of God's creatures*, in order that they *may* be applied to the purposes of the eucharist, and speaks of *this* as the sacrifice of the New Testament referred to by Malachi; while Justin Martyr and Tertullian, overlooking generally any *material* sacrifice in the eucharist, place the sacrifice wholly in the prayers and thanksgivings that are offered up, even that offering up of the true sacrifice of the cross to God upon the altar of the heart, which is presented by every faithful worshipper when receiving the outward memorials of that sacrifice.

The breaking of the bread and the pouring out of the wine that take place in the Communion, are a commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross, and this act of commemoration, (in which every communicant partakes,) when accompanied with faithful thanksgivings for the sacrifice it represents, is an acceptable sacrifice to God. We deny not, therefore, be it observed, that there is a sacrifice offered to God in this part of the Service, but it is a sacrifice of *personal service, not of the elements*, and performed by every communicant, and although that personal service consists partly in outward actions, its far more important and essential part is in the feelings of the heart towards God.

A better statement of the whole question can hardly perhaps be found than is given by our opponents' own witness Bishop White. "Touching the name and title of sacrifice, our



“ Church giveth the same to the holy eucharist ; and that not  
 “ only in respect of certain pious actions annexed unto it, to  
 “ wit, prayer, thanksgiving, alms, &c.—Rom. xii. 1. 1 Pet.  
 “ ii. 5.—but in regard of the eucharist itself; wherein first  
 “ the outward elements of bread and wine, receiving the  
 “ calling of God, (Iren. l. 4. c. 34.) are made sacred and ap-  
 “ pointed to divine worship, 1 Cor. xi. 26, and become  
 “ instruments of grace to men. Secondly, the body and  
 “ blood of Christ, PRESENT TO THE SOUL, are, by THE FAITH  
 “ AND DEVOTION of the pastor and people which receive these  
 “ mysteries, presented and tendered to God, with request that  
 “ he will vouchsafe for the merit thereof to bestow grace and  
 “ remission of sins, and other benefits upon them.”<sup>1</sup>

That any argument can be derived by our opponents from the word *sacrifice* being used with reference to the eucharist, is obviously inadmissible, because the word is constantly used by the Fathers in a sense *wholly spiritual*, and signifying *only* prayers or offerings of the heart. This we have already seen in several instances, which are the more pertinent to our present subject, as having an especial reference to the eucharist; but of general instances it would be easy to add many more. “ We *sacrifice*,” says Tertullian, “ for the safety of the  
 “ Emperor, but to our God and his, and in the manner in which  
 “ God hath directed, namely, with *pure prayers*.”<sup>2</sup> “ A good spirit, a pure mind, a sincere conscience . . . these,” says Minucius Felix, “ are *our sacrifices*, these are God’s sacred offerings.”<sup>3</sup> And so indeed is the word frequently used by the Apostles in the New Testament.<sup>4</sup>

And Bishop Morton has shown, that this word is also used with respect to *baptism*, adding, “ Wherefore by this analogy

<sup>1</sup> F. WHITE’S Orthodox Faith and Way to the true Church explained. In edition annexed to the Works of John White, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> “ Sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece.” TERTULL. Ad Scap. c. 2. Op. ed. 1664. p. 69. See also his Apologet. c. 30.

<sup>3</sup> “ Bonus animus et pura mens et sincera conscientia . . . hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt.” MIN. FEL. De idol. vanit. ed. Oxon. 1678. p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> See Rom. xii. 1. Phil. iv. 18. Heb. xiii. 15, 16. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

“ between these two sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, “ we may conclude out of the testimony of St. Augustine, “ recorded by their antient schoolman Aquinas, ‘ that *signs* “ are called by the names of those things which they do repre- “ sent, as for example, of the *painted image* of Cicero we use “ to say, this is Cicero. And so the celebration of this sacra- “ ment, which is a representation of Christ’s passion, the true “ immolation or sacrificing, is called an immolation.”<sup>1</sup>

The application, therefore, of this word *sacrifice* to the eucharist by the Fathers proves nothing in favour of our opponents.

If, then, the testimony of Scripture, and of the earliest Fathers, is opposed to the notion of such a sacrifice as our opponents contend for in the eucharist, the other three propositions are disproved in the refutation of this.

But we must not pass them over without notice, for in them lies the poison of the whole doctrine. That there should be such a sacrifice made in the eucharist, is a matter far from unimportant. But that such a doctrine as that of our opponents should be held respecting it, is a matter of vast moment, embracing as it does some of the worst errors of the Romish system.

It is maintained, then, *secondly*, by the Tractators, that the minister performs this act in a strictly sacerdotal character.

This notion has been already completely overthrown by the testimonies of Tertullian and Justin Martyr, adduced in a former page, to which I refer the reader.<sup>2</sup> In these passages Tertullian and Justin Martyr assert, *with particular respect to the sacrifice of the eucharist*, that ALL Christians are priests to God. It thence clearly follows, that in the eucharist the minister is but the guide and leader of the devotions of the people. It is worthy of observation, that the word used to describe the Levitical priests, (*ιερείς*), is never used in the New

<sup>1</sup> MORTON’S Cath. App. ii. 7. § 8. pp. 173, 4, and see his Treatise of the Institution of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. ed. 1635.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 228, 230 above.

Testament for the ministers of Christ, but wherever it is used, it is applied as a general term for the whole body of believers.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the term so applied by the Apostolical Fathers or Justin Martyr. One passage only occurs in their genuine remains that has ever been thought of as an instance, namely, in Ignatius,<sup>2</sup> where Pearson, Smith, and Markland understand it of Levitical priests, and in Jacobson's view rightly.

I know not, indeed, how any man can read the Epistle to the Hebrews, and persevere in maintaining such a notion as that which we are here opposing.

The Apostle in that Epistle seems with studied assiduity to impress upon our minds the fact, that with us there is but one sacrifice and one priest, a sacrifice all-prevalent for the full remission of sins, and a priest who, being eternal, for ever liveth to present it, and make intercession for us; and that, consequently, *every true Christian* has, *at all times*, a sacrifice and a priest to present it for him to God, *without the intervention of any other person or thing whatever*.<sup>3</sup> And the service of the eucharist differs only (*as far as the act of worship in it is concerned*) from the private services of the Christian in his closet, from its being accompanied by certain external acts, indicative and expressive of our thankful remembrance of and faith in the sacrifice of the cross, in which the minister does nothing but as the hand and voice of the whole assembly, as all pure Antiquity bears witness.

And, further, we may remark, that St. Paul, when speaking of the ministers of the Old and New Testament, describes the former as "they which wait at the altar," and the latter as "they which preach the gospel,"<sup>4</sup> a distinction very different from what he would have drawn had he held the views of the Tractators.

And so far is Hooker, whom our opponents have quoted as a maintainer of their views, from supporting them in this, that

<sup>1</sup> Rev. i. 6; v. 10; and see 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς. IGNAT. Epist. ad Philad. § 9. Apud PATR. APOST. ed. Jacobson. tom. ii. p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> See particularly Heb. vii. 23—28. viii. 1, 6. x. 19—22.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.



he distinctly says, (as already quoted,) “ In truth the word “ *presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech “ more agreeable, than *priest*, with the drift of the whole “ gospel of Jesus Christ ;”<sup>1</sup> which he never would have said, had he held our opponents’ views, but merely drawn the *distinction* which *they* draw between the Levitical priest and the Christian priest, as the one offering bloody and the other unbloody sacrifices, and not have *given up* the appellation altogether, and *substituted presbyter* for it.

Not, indeed, as I have already intimated, that the use of such a *word* is a matter of any great moment, because we hold, with Hooker, that there is no reason why “ the very name of “ altar, of priest, of sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the “ world.” “ For,” adds that judicious writer, “ though God do “ now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so “ that we cannot have the same things which they had but with “ impiety ; yet unless there be some greater let than the only “ evacuation of the Law of Moses, the *names themselves* may “ (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that *proportion* “ which things established by our Saviour have unto them “ which by him are abrogated ; and so throughout all the “ writings of the antient Fathers we see, that the words which “ were, do continue ; the only difference is, that whereas before “ they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and “ are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what “ they did signify in the letter, is accomplished in the truth.”<sup>2</sup>

And we say with Archbishop Whitgift,—“ I am not greatly “ delighted with the name, [i. e. *priest*,] nor so desirous to “ maintain it ; but yet a truth is to be defended. I read in “ the old Fathers, that these two names, *Sacerdos* and *Presbyter*, be confounded. I see, also, that the learned and the “ best of our English writers, such, I mean, as write in these “ our days, translate the word *Presbyter* so ; and the very “ word itself, as it is used in our English tongue, soundeth “ the word *Presbyter*. As heretofore use hath made it to be

<sup>1</sup> See p. 356 above.

<sup>2</sup> HOOKER’S *Ecll. Pol.* bk. iv. c. 11.



"taken for a *sacrificer*, so will use now alter that signification, "and make it to be taken for a *minister of the gospel*. But "it is mere vanity to contend for the name, when we agree of *the thing*."<sup>1</sup> So that with respect to *the thing*, the Archbishop agreed with his opponent, the Puritan Cartwright. And in another place he says,—"I suppose it [the word *priest*] cometh of this word *presbyter*, not of *sacerdos*, and "then the matter is not great."<sup>2</sup> The word *priest*, therefore, has been freely used by our divines, not merely as the English for *presbyter*, but just as *ιερεὺς* and *sacerdos* were sometimes used by the Fathers, namely, as significative of that office under the New Testament, which corresponds (as far as the genius of the two Dispensations admits) to that which the priests held under the Old, just as the words *altar* and *sacrifice* may be used to denote those things which have a sort of correspondence to those that were so called under the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup>

I will only add here, on this head, a passage of Cyprian, where the phraseology seems to me clearly to show, that the people were considered as much *sacrificers* as the priest. "When," says Cyprian, "we come together with the brethren, "and celebrate the divine sacrifices with God's priest, we ought "to be mindful of modesty and discipline."<sup>4</sup> Would this language have been used, if the sacrifice was offered only by the priest? Would it have been used under the Old Testament? Moreover, I shall show, under the next head, that long after this, even if the custom of the post-consecration sacrifice could be shown to have prevailed, still the people were considered as much the sacrificers as the priest.

It is maintained, *thirdly*, by the Tractators, that by this

<sup>1</sup> WHITGIFT'S Def. of Answ. to Admon. p. 722.

<sup>2</sup> WHITGIFT'S Answ. to Adm. in Def. of Answ. p. 721. See, also, DAVENANT. Determ. q. 13. p. 62. ed. 1a.

<sup>3</sup> See BISHOP MANT'S Expos. of the Ordination Services, in his Notes on the Common Prayer.

<sup>4</sup> "Quando in unum cum fratribus convenimus, et sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus, verecundiæ et disciplinæ memores esse debemus." CYPR. De orat. Dom. *prope init.* Op. ed. Fell. Pt. i. p. 140. (ed. Col. 1617. p. 156.)

sacrifice, so offered by a priest, remission of sins is obtained for the whole Church.<sup>1</sup>

So that faithful laymen have nothing to do but to pay a priest for offering the sacrifice, or, as the Romanists would speak, for saying mass, and they have remission of sins. That their hearts should, by prayer and thanksgiving, offer up in that eucharist the true sacrifice of the cross to God for their pardon, is no instrument in the impetration of that pardon. No; the priest is the mediator and intercessor between God and the people; and by *his* act in sacrificing, and not through any act of theirs, remission of sins is obtained for them. And thus the Christian minister, set apart for the sake of the good order and well-being of the Church, to lead the devotions of the people, and preside over their assemblies for public worship, and exhort them to their spiritual duties, is turned into a sacrificing priest, making an atonement for the sins of the people;

<sup>1</sup> If any of my readers have any doubt as to the correctness of the representation I have here given of the doctrine of our opponents, I would advise them to refer to a little treatise lately re-published at Oxford, written by "J. Scandret, Priest of the Church of England," entitled, "Sacrifice the divine service;" in which the author tells us, that "the true and proper sense" of "the word *sacrifice*," is "to signify and express among us the oblation of the Christian Church, which the priest makes at the altar, as the great work of his high office and place, *to render God propitious to man*." (p. 43.) "So vain are some in their expressions of this kind, as to ascribe to prayer our communion with God, which one would think that every Christian should know to be had *only* by our partaking of the great Christian oblation." (pp. 50, 51.) "Does the Christian priest," he asks, as of an absurd notion, "at the Christian altar offer the great oblation, as *personating the Christian congregation*?" (p. 57.) "The sacrifice of the priesthood is prevalent, above all things in this world, to render God propitious to them." (p. 63.) "They [the Bishops and priests] unite God to us, and us to God, by appearing between both with the sacrifice of peace." (p. 64.) "The pardon of sin is the work of God, and of Jesus Christ as our Priest and Sacrifice in the truth; and of his substitute priests under him, by making the appointed demand thereof, even by bringing into God's presence the prevailing sacrifices of his Son in the commanded representations thereof." (pp. 126, 7.) "The offerings and remission of sin, which earthly priests do make and procure to us . . . As it [i.e. remission of sins] was to be had under the Law, by the Law sacrifices, so under the Gospel, by the new oblation of the New Testament." (p. 194.) "The great Christian sacrifice does take away sin, as the Jewish sacrifices did under the Law." (p. 199.)

and the offering up of the consecrated elements by him to God, is a true propitiatory sacrifice, by which, instrumentally, remission of sins is obtained for the Church. The Tractator has not even qualified his statements by the limitation which Harding himself admitted, in his controversy with Jewel, namely, by the words "where there is no stop nor let to the contrary, on the behalf of the receiver."<sup>1</sup> I will give him, however, the full credit of *meaning*, that what he says is to be understood with such a limitation; and we will suppose, further, that it is not the mere sacrificing act performed by the priest, but the act, as accompanied by intercessory prayer; (though I suspect that in this I am granting our opponents more than they would ask for;) and what does it amount to? That the faithful obtain remission of their sins, mediately and instrumentally, through the sacrifice performed by the priest, aye, even *ex opere operato*. And hence it is, that this part of the Service is performed by some of those who have embraced these views in the true Romish style; that is, as if the people bore no part in it.

Now, in this doctrine is contained the very essence of the Romish corruption of the true faith on this point. For it is here broadly maintained, that remission of sins is obtained for men, by a priest celebrating the eucharist; nay, as we shall see presently, that the dead, whose sins committed after baptism, we are told elsewhere, remain uncanceled till the day of Judgment, and may, till then, be visited upon them in the Intermediate State, may, by a priest celebrating the eucharist, obtain an increase of joy and refreshment; amounting, in fact, to a remission of the punishment of sin. The consequence is, that the eucharist becomes a true propitiatory sacrifice, available even for those who do not partake of it; and men obtain remission of sins, not through their own faith and repentance, and prayers, and conformity to the ordinances of Christ, but through the sacrifice, commemorative of Christ's sacrifice, made by a priest in the eucharist.

If this is the case, then are the private masses of the Church

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL'S Answ. to Harding, Art. 20. Works, p. 437.



of Rome both useful and laudable; while, nevertheless, I would ask, with Bishop Jewel, where we can find “any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ?”<sup>1</sup> And we further ask, with him, where we can find any such testimony for the proposition, “that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence to himself;”<sup>2</sup> which, though our opponents do not, perhaps, actually do, because they might, in the Church of England, be called to account for it, yet *might be done upon their principles*,<sup>3</sup> (I leave others to ascertain, whether it is not *actually* done sometimes, by the adoption of a *manner* which has *the same effect*,) or, “that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin.”<sup>4</sup>

For a full reply to these three propositions, and overwhelming evidence against them, both from Scripture and Fathers, I refer the reader to Bishop Jewel’s invaluable “Reply to Harding.”<sup>5</sup>

Of these three propositions, we say with him;—Of the first, that in rejecting it, “we rest upon the Scriptures of God, upon the authority of the antient doctors and Councils, and upon the universal practice of the most famous cities and Churches of the world;”<sup>6</sup> of the second, that it “hath been only re-

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL’S Reply to Harding, Art. 1. Works, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> JEWEL’S Reply to Harding, Art. 16. Works, p. 402.

<sup>3</sup> As Thomas Aquinas says, “The oblation and consecration belong only to the priest, [which is the view of our opponents,] and *therefore* the words be spoken in silence, as nothing pertaining to the people.” P. 3. q. 183, as cited by Jewel, in reply to Harding, Art. 16. p. 407.

<sup>4</sup> JEWEL’S Reply to Harding, Art. 20. Works, p. 437.

<sup>5</sup> See Art. 1, 16 and 20.

<sup>6</sup> JEWEL’S Reply to Harding, Art. 1. p. 71.



“ceived in the Church of Rome, and nowhere else, and that  
 “only for a time, and not from the beginning ; and therefore  
 “mere particular, and no way universal, and so not Catholic ;”  
 that it is “utterly void of any show, either of the Scriptures,  
 “or of the old Councils, or antient Fathers, or of any manner  
 “antiquity ;” and is “against S. Ambrose, against S. Au-  
 “gustine, against S. Chrysostom, against Leo, against his  
 “own Clemens, against the whole Primitive Church, both  
 “Greek and Latin, and against the decrees and traditions of  
 “the Apostles ;”<sup>1</sup> and of the third, that “to ascribe felicity  
 “or remission of sin, which is the inward work of the Holy  
 “Ghost, unto ANY MANNER OUTWARD ACTION WHATSOEVER,  
 “is a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error.”<sup>2</sup>

Now, it is very possible, that our opponents, *like Harding himself*, will strenuously deny, that this last proposition exhibits their view. When their view is made to stand forth in its naked deformity, they will, *like Harding*, beg the reader to turn away his eyes from it, until they have clothed it in garments which shall *conceal* its real shape ; and in the art of thus clothing their doctrines, it must be admitted that they are adepts. “It is Christ only,” saith Harding, indignantly, “and none other thing, that is able to remove our sins ; and that hath he done, by the sacrifice of his body once done upon the cross.” What can be more orthodox ? Again, “Christ, in his flesh crucified, is our only sacrifice, our only price, our only redemption, whereby he hath merited to us upon the cross, and with the price of his blood hath bought the remission of our sins ; and St. John saith, ‘he is the propitiation for our sins.’ . . . And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass *pecially* ; but for that he offered it once himself, with shedding of his blood upon the cross, for the redemption of all. Which oblation, done upon the cross, is become a perpetual and continual oblation ; not in the same manner of offering, but in the same virtue and power of the thing offered. For, since that time, the same body of Christ appearing always before the

<sup>1</sup> Ib. Art. 16. p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. Art. 20. p. 442.

“ face of God in heaven, presenteth and exhibiteth itself for  
 “ our reconciliation ; and likewise it is exhibited and offered  
 “ by his own commandment, here in earth, in the mass,  
 “ where he is both priest and sacrifice, offerer and oblation,  
 “ verily and indeed, though in mystery, and by way of com-  
 “ memoration, that thereby we may be made partakers of the  
 “ reconciliation performed, *applying the same unto us*, (so far  
 “ as in this behalf *man may apply*) through faith and devotion,  
 “ no less than if we saw with our eyes presently his body  
 “ hanging on the cross before us, and streams of blood issuing  
 “ forth. And so it is *a sacrifice in very deed propitiatory, not*  
 “ *for our act or work, but for his own work already done and*  
 “ *accepted*. To this only we must ascribe remission and  
 “ removing of our sins.” “ If the term mass be taken for the  
 “ act of the priest, *in respect of any his only doing, it is not*  
 “ *able to remove sin*. For so we should make the priest God’s  
 “ peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ, as our  
 “ adversaries do unjustly slander us. Yet hath the mass  
 “ *virtue and effect in some degree ; and is acceptable to God,*  
 “ *by reason of the oblation of the sacrifice*, which, in the mass,  
 “ is done by the offerer, without respect had to Christ’s  
 “ institution, even for the faithful prayer and devotion of the  
 “ party that offereth, which the School-doctors term *ex opere*  
 “ *operantis*. For then the oblation seemeth to be most  
 “ acceptable to God, when it is offered by some that is accept-  
 “ able. Now the party that offereth is of two sorts. The  
 “ one offereth immediately and personally ; the other offereth  
 “ mediately, or by mean of another and principally. The first  
 “ is the priest that consecrateth, offereth, and receiveth the  
 “ sacrament, who so doth these things in his own person, yet  
 “ by God’s authority, as none other in so offering is concur-  
 “ rent with him. The party that offereth mediately or by  
 “ mean of another and principally, is the Church militant, in  
 “ whose person the priest offereth, and whose minister he is  
 “ in offering. For this is *the sacrifice of the whole Church*.  
 “ The first party that offereth, is not always acceptable to  
 “ God, neither always pleaseth him ; because oftentimes he is

" a sinner. The second party that offereth, is evermore  
 " acceptable to God, because the Church is always holy, be-  
 " loved, and the only spouse of Christ. And in this respect,  
 " the mass is an acceptable service to God, *ex opere operantis*,—  
 " and is not without cause and reason called a sacrifice propi-  
 " tiatory; *not for that it deserveth mercy at God's hand, of*  
 " *itself, as Christ doth, who only is, in that principal and special*  
 " *sort, a sacrifice propitiatory; but for that it moveth God to*  
 " *give mercy and remission of sin, already deserved by Christ.*  
 " In this degree of a sacrifice propitiatory, we may put prayer,  
 " a contrite heart, alms, forgiving of our neighbour, &c."<sup>1</sup>

Now the only difference between this explanation and that which our opponents could offer, is this, that Harding held the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrifice, while our opponents only admit a sacramental presence in it, (as, indeed, they confess that this is their only difference from the Romanists,) *but the effect ascribed to the performance of the sacrifice by the priest is the same.* Now of this effect only Jewel is here speaking; and of this effect so ascribed to it he says, that it is " a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error." His was not a mind to be deceived by all these fine words of Harding. He looked to the latent tenet which was concealed under all these plausible and delusive phrases.

It was held by the Romish Church, and it is held by our opponents, that by the sacrificial act of the priest in the eucharist, remission of sins is obtained (whether mediately, or indirectly, or in whatever particular way they choose to say, I stay not to inquire,) for the whole Church; and such a notion was, in Jewel's estimation, " a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error."

But it will be said, Do you then deny, that the service of the eucharist is, in any sense, propitiatory on behalf of the Church? To such a question I must reply more at length than by a mere affirmative or negative, for both would be open to serious misconstruction. I deny altogether, that the mere offering up of the consecrated elements as a sacrifice to God is a propitia-

<sup>1</sup> See JEWEL'S Reply to Hard. Art. 20. Works, pp. 437—440.



tion for the sins of the Church, which is what our opponents maintain. I deny, also, that the mere celebration of the eucharist is *necessarily* thus propitiatory, because it might be celebrated without any intercessory prayers for the whole Church, and still be valid to the communicants. Its propitiatory nature depends upon the prayers offered in it. And I am far from denying, that the intercessory prayers offered upon such an occasion may have a propitiatory effect with God in behalf of those for whom they are offered. But it is very far from being a consequence of this, that the celebration of the eucharist with intercessory prayers for the Church, and the remission of sins to the Church, are like *cause* (call it *mediate*, or *instrumental*, or what you will, but still *cause*,) and *effect*, so that where one takes place the other follows as a necessary effect. The propitiatory effect to be expected in this case is of the same kind as that which may be expected from intercessory prayer generally. And hence to make remission of sins for the Church a necessary effect and consequence of the celebration of the eucharist, (even though we substitute for the notion of the priest's sacerdotal prayers the prayers of the whole body of communicants,) is most unwarrantable, and directly leading men to a neglect of this sacred ordinance in their own persons, when they suppose that remission of sins is obtained for them by the acts or prayers of others. This is necessarily, and is proved by experience to be, the practical effect.

But, for the exaltation of the priest, this no doubt is a most important doctrine. And in the Church of Rome no other doctrine has been so useful for filling the coffers of the Church; and I fear that it would be far from uncharitable to suspect, with Bishop Morton, that the earnestness of their cry in favour of this their great Diana, is not a little attributable to the "no small gain" unto the craftsmen, especially when we find them maintaining, that it is "not so available for *many* as if it be applied to *one alone*," (a crafty expedient for an almost infinite multiplication of them,) and that "when the priest taketh a " stipend of *Peter*, with a condition that he shall, by his inten-



"tion, apply the mass unto *him* for the good of his soul ; and "yet peradventure shall not intend it unto *Peter's* soul, but "unto *Paul's*, or to *his own* ; yet, notwithstanding his compact "with Peter, the blessing of this sacrifice shall be extended "according to *the priest's intention*." "This," says Bishop Morton, "might be thought to be no small happiness of their "priesthood, (if yet in a perfidiousness or simony there could "be any happiness,) wherein, by virtue of their sacrifice, the "priest, even in doing an injury, is notwithstanding made "capable of a double benefit, as namely, a *stipend from man*, "and a *blessing from God*."<sup>1</sup>

This doctrine respecting the priest's intention, I take it for granted that our opponents repudiate ; and I will only add my regret, that they should make such old friends as these two doctrines part company, and not rather have let them travel on together, till they both met their just reward.

But to return. In what way, then, it may be asked, are the benefits of this Service to be obtained by individuals ? We reply, Simply and solely by their own act, when, coming to this holy rite in faith and repentance, they receive the bread and wine as the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, in thankful remembrance of his death ; and, in the sacrifices of prayer and praise, offer up spiritually upon the altar of their hearts the true body and blood of Christ, the true sacrifice of the cross, as an atonement for their sins, and the foundation of all their hopes. It is not, as Harding calls it, "the sacrifice of the whole Church," but only that of those present at it. Nor does the priest act as the representative of the whole Church, but simply as the leader of the devotions of those present.

And here lies the great and most important point of distinction between our views and those of the Tractators. *They* hold, that it is by the sacrificial offering up of the consecrated bread and wine to God, in the office of the eucharist, that the priest obtains instrumentally remission of sins for the communicants and the whole Church. *We* hold, that it is the

<sup>1</sup> MORTON'S Cath. App. ii. 7. § 15. pp. 185, 6.

personal service of each individual in the whole action of the eucharist,—when, receiving the bread and wine as the memorials of Christ's passion, he offers up spiritually, in his prayers and thanksgivings, the true sacrifice of the cross to the Father,—that obtains for that individual the blessings promised in the eucharist.

In the very same part of Bishop Jewel's works, from which our opponents have taken one of their extracts, that learned prelate thus speaks, clearly showing in what alone he considered the sacrifice in the eucharist to consist ;—"The holy  
 " learned Fathers apply that word [i. e. unbloody] sometime  
 " to prayer and other devotion of the mind, and sometime to  
 " the ministration of the holy communion. . . . In respect  
 " of these gross and fleshly and bloody sacrifices [i. e. of the  
 " Old Testament] our Christian sacrifices in the gospel, because they are *mere spiritual, and proceed wholly from*  
 " *the heart*, are called unbloody. . . . In like manner the  
 " ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the  
 " antient Fathers called an *unbloody sacrifice, not in respect*  
 " *of any corporal or fleshly presence that is imagined to be*  
 " *there WITHOUT BLOODSHEDDING, but for that it representeth*  
 " *unto our minds that one and everlasting sacrifice*  
 " *that Christ made in his body upon the cross . . . This*  
 " *remembrance and oblation of praises, and rendering of*  
 " *thanks unto God for our redemption in the blood of Christ,*  
 " *is called of the old Fathers an unbloody sacrifice . . . This*  
 " *kind of sacrifice, because it is mere spiritual, and groweth*  
 " *only from the mind, therefore it needeth not any material*  
 " *altar of stone or timber to be made upon . . . St. Augustine*  
 " *saith, 'Sacrificium Novi Testamenti est, quando altaria*  
 " *cordis nostri munda et pura in conspectu Divinæ Majestatis*  
 " *offerimus.'* 'The sacrifice of the New Testament is when  
 " we offer up the altars of our hearts pure and clean in the  
 " sight of the Divine Majesty.' In these respects our prayers,  
 " our praises, our thanksgiving unto God for our salvation in  
 " the death of Christ, is called an unbloody sacrifice."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL'S Reply to Harding, Art. 17. Works, pp. 427, 8.

The people, then, are as much sacrificers as the priest, and should be taught to expect remission of sins, not from *his* sacrificing *for them*, but from *their own* sacrifice. Though the priest's may be the hand and voice more particularly engaged, the sacrifice must be made as much by them mentally, or they can expect no remission of sins through it. "It is," says Bishop Jewel, "no more the sacrifice of the priest, than the sacrifice of any other of all the people."<sup>1</sup> And "it is not the priest, but God only it is, that applieth unto each man the remission of his sins in the blood of Christ; not by means of the mass, but *only by the mean of faith*."<sup>2</sup>

To the same effect (as we have already seen)<sup>3</sup> speaks Perkins as quoted by Mede.

And so still more plainly speaks another of our opponents' witnesses, and in their own extract, namely, Bishop Bilson,—  
 "Christ is offered daily but mystically, not covered with qualities and quantities of bread and wine, for those be neither mysteries nor resemblances to the death of Christ, but by the bread which is broken, by the wine which is drunk; in substance, creatures; in signification, sacraments; the Lord's death is figured and *proposed to the communicants, and they, for their parts, NO LESS PEOPLE THAN PRIESTS, do present Christ hanging on the cross to God the Father, with a lively faith, inward devotion, and humble prayer, as a most sufficient and everlasting sacrifice for the full remission of their sins, and assured fruition of his mercies.* OTHER ACTUAL AND PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE THAN THIS THE CHURCH OF CHRIST NEVER HAD, NEVER TAUGHT."<sup>4</sup> And again; "Neither they nor I ever denied the eucharist to be a sacrifice. The very name enforceth it to be the sacrifice of *praise and thanksgiving*, which is the true and lively sacrifice of the New Testament. *The Lord's Table, in respect of his graces and mercies there proposed*

<sup>1</sup> JEWEL'S Reply to Harding, Art. 18. Works, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. Art. 19, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 3 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> See extract given in Catena, in Tract 81, p. 67, or BILSON, Of subjection and rebellion, ed. 1585. 4to. p. 693. (ed. 1586. pp. 513, 14.)



“ *to us, is an heavenly banquet, which we must EAT AND NOT SACRIFICE ; but the duties which he requireth at our hands, when we approach his table, are sacrifices not sacraments ; as namely, to offer him thanks and praises, faith and obedience, yea, our bodies and souls to be living holy and acceptable sacrifices unto him, which is our reasonable service.*”<sup>1</sup> The former part of this extract is given in the Catena. The latter, beginning “The Lord’s Table, &c.,” is not noticed.

Excepting, then, the value which may be attached to intercessory prayer, we maintain, that the benefit accruing from the celebration of the eucharistie ordinance, is *confined to those who faithfully partake of it*. I say, excepting the value which may be attached to intercessory prayer, because we have reason to hope, that the prayers offered by *the faithful* in that ordinance *for the whole Church* are acceptable to God. God has promised to hear our intercessions for others, and when in the eucharist we pray, that spiritual blessings may be given to the whole Church for the sake of that sacrifice we are then commemorating, we may humbly hope, that God will hear us, and in his own time and way answer our prayers.

I have already endeavoured to show, under a former head, that for the first two or three centuries, at least, the testimony of the Fathers is opposed to the practice of offering up the elements at all *after* consecration ; and therefore, even if that practice prevailed at a subsequent period, it is unnecessary to add anything further to show that even Patristical Tradition fails our opponents in this matter. But the *main* point is, not the mere question whether or not this practice prevailed, but (supposing it to have prevailed) with what doctrine it was associated ; and I therefore think it important here to add, that even at a subsequent period, if there was a post-consecration offering up of the elements as, sacramentally, the body and blood of Christ, (and Cyril of Jerusalem in his fifth Mystagogical Lecture, if genuine, certainly speaks as if this was done,) still the language of the Fathers of the same period shows, that this *external* offering up was not intended by

<sup>1</sup> BILSON, Of subjection and rebellion, ed. 1585, p. 699. (ed. 1586. p. 522 )



them to usurp the place of, or at all interfere with, the *internal* offering up of the sacrifice of the cross in the *hearts* of the worshippers, as forming *the very essence of the sacrifice*, and without which the other was worthless. And as the external offering was performed by the officiating minister, only as the hand and voice of the worshippers, so the latter was performed, and could only be performed, by the worshippers themselves, and alone rendered them acceptable worshippers, and gave any value to the service, as far as they were concerned; exclusive, that is, of that *indefinite* and *general* value which a service including intercessory prayer for the whole body of the faithful might be supposed to have. Irenæus, *speaking on this very subject*, i. e. with reference to the eucharist, says, "If any one shall have attempted to offer purely, and rightly, and lawfully, as far as respects outward appearance only, but in his heart is not at peace with his neighbour, nor has the fear of God, he does not deceive God by that sacrifice which is rightly offered as to externals, while he has sin in his heart, nor will such an oblation profit him anything."<sup>1</sup> . . . "Sacrifices do not sanctify a man, for God needs not sacrifice; but *the conscience of him who offers*, when pure, sanctifies the sacrifice."<sup>2</sup> No words can more clearly show, that the offering or sacrifice is one which must be made by each individual, and that its acceptability depends upon the state of mind of the offerer. And the puerile and evasive mode of explaining away this passage, by saying that the offering in the eucharist is always pure, because it is presented by the holy Catholic Church through the hands of the priest, is unworthy of any candid mind. In fact, it makes the observation of

<sup>1</sup> "Si enim quis, solummodo secundum quod videtur, munde, et recte, et legitime offerre tentaverit; secundum autem suam animam non recte dividat eam quæ est ad proximum communionem, neque timorem habeat Dei; non per id quod recte foris oblatum est sacrificium, seducit Deum, intus habens peccatum, nec oblatio talis proderit ei aliquid." IREN. Adv. hæc. iv. 18. p. 250. ed. Mass. (iv. 34. p. 325. ed. Grab.)

<sup>2</sup> "Non sacrificia sanctificant hominem; non enim indiget sacrificio Deus; sed conscientia ejus qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens." Id. ib. p. 250. ed. Mass. (p. 326. ed. Grab.)

Irenæus useless and absurd, when applied, as he applies it, to the eucharist. And when Irenæus says afterwards, that therefore the offering (*munus*) of the Church is an acceptable sacrifice, he is speaking (as the context shows) of the Christian Church, in opposition to the Jews, and contrasting the spiritual sacrifice offered in the former with the material sacrifice offered by the latter.

Let us proceed, then, to the Fathers of a somewhat later period. The doctrine maintained by at least the most esteemed of these Fathers was, in all essential points, the same as that of those who preceded them. I will endeavour to show this, by proving, that, however some may have spoken so as to seem to countenance a post-consecration sacrifice of the elements, there is, for this period also, ample Patristical testimony for the doctrine, i. That the sacrifice in the eucharist was the offering of all that were present alike, and of *those only*. ii. That the chief part of the sacrifice was that mental sacrifice of prayer and praise, which it is impossible for one man to offer for another. And hence, iii. That the people are as much the sacrificers as the priest, with the mere exception of the external act of ministration. iv. That the *direct* benefit to be derived from the celebration of the eucharist was to be expected only by the faithful communicants.

To enter fully into these points would occupy more space than can be spared here for the purpose, but I will give one or two extracts in proof of each.

i. The sacrifice of the eucharist was considered to be the offering of all that were present alike, and of *those only*.

Thus, Ambrose, or, as the Benedictines would say, Pseud-Ambrose, writing on 1 Cor. xi. 33, 4, says, "The Apostle says, that we are to wait one for another, that the offering of many may be celebrated at the same time;"<sup>1</sup> where it is evident, that the offering was regarded as the offering of those only who were present. And hence it was ordered by the

<sup>1</sup> "Ad invicem expectandum dicit, ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur." Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. xi. 33, 4. Inter. AMBROS. Op. tom. ii. App. col. 150. ed. Bened. The work is in good esteem, though the authorship is doubtful.

Council of Eliberis, or Elvira, that no oblations should be received but from those who were about to communicate.<sup>1</sup>

ii. The chief part of the sacrifice was considered to be that mental sacrifice of prayer and praise which it is impossible for one man to offer for another.

“Behold,” says Chrysostom, “we have our victim above, our priest above, our sacrifice above. Therefore let us offer such sacrifices as can be presented upon that altar, no longer sheep and oxen, no longer blood and incense; all these things are abolished, and there is introduced in the place of these *rational worship*. But what is rational worship? *That which is offered by the soul; that which is offered by the spirit.*”<sup>2</sup> Surely nothing can be plainer than this.

Thus also Eusebius, after having said, that Christ “directed us to offer continually to God a remembrance instead of a sacrifice,”<sup>3</sup> and that this remembrance of Christ’s sacrifice was to be celebrated at the Table through symbols,<sup>4</sup> immediately proceeds to remark, that “the prophetic oracles proclaim these *immaterial and mental sacrifices*, thus speaking of them: ‘Sacrifice to God the sacrifices of praise,’ &c. And again, ‘The lifting up of hands is the evening sacrifice.’ And again, ‘The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit.’”<sup>5</sup> . . . God “having rejected the Mosaic sacrifices proclaims by the prophetic voice that which is to be observed by us, saying, ‘From the rising of the sun to its setting, my name is glo-

<sup>1</sup> “Episcopum, placuit, ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere.” Concil. Illib. can. 28. ed. Mendoz. 1594. p. 43. Or in any edition of the Councils.

<sup>2</sup> “Ορα γὰρ ἄνω ἔχομεν τὸ ἱερεῖον, ἄνω τὸν ἱερέα, ἄνω τὴν θυσίαν· οὐκοῦν τοιαύτας ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίας τὰς ἐν ἐκείνῳ δυναμένας προσφέρεισθαι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ· οὐκέτι πρόβατα καὶ βόας, οὐκέτι αἷμα καὶ κνίσσαν· πάντα ταῦτα λένεται, καὶ ἀντεισενήνκεται ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία. τί δέ ἐστιν ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία; τὰ διὰ ψυχῆς, τὰ διὰ πνεύματος. CHRYS. Comment. in Hebr. hom. xi. § 3. Op. tom. xii. pp. 114, 115. ed. Ben.

<sup>3</sup> Μνήμην καὶ ἡμῖν παραδούς ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν. EUSEB. Demonstr. Evang. lib. i. c. ult. p. 38. ed. Col. 1688.

<sup>4</sup> Τοῦτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων. Ib. p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Ταύτας δὲ πάλιν τὰς ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοερὰς θυσίας τὰ προφητικὰ κηρύττει λόγια, ὧδέ κη περιέχοντα, Θύσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, κ. τ. λ. Ib. p. 39.



“rified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered  
 “to my name, and a pure sacrifice.’ Therefore we sacrifice to  
 “the supreme God the sacrifice of praise; we sacrifice a  
 “divinely-inspired, and holy, and pious sacrifice; we sacrifice  
 “in a new way, according to the New Testament, a pure sa-  
 “crifice. But ‘the sacrifice of God’ is said to be ‘a broken  
 “spirit; a broken and contrite heart God will not despise.’<sup>1</sup>  
 “... And, moreover, we offer up the prophetic incense,  
 “presenting to him in every place the sweetsmelling fruit  
 “of a virtuous religion; offering it through our prayers to  
 “him. This also another prophet teaches, who said, ‘Let  
 “my prayer be as incense in thy sight.’ Therefore we both  
 “sacrifice and offer incense; at one time celebrating the  
 “memory of the great sacrifice, according to the mysteries  
 “delivered by him, and offering to God the offering of  
 “thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν) for our salvation, in pious  
 “hymns and prayers; at another, consecrating ourselves  
 “wholly to him.”<sup>2</sup>

No one, I suppose, can read this passage without admitting, that, according to its author, the *immaterial* and *mental* sacrifice in the eucharist was that in which the eucharistic sacrifice at least principally consisted.<sup>3</sup>

And hence (iii.) the people were considered as much the sacrificers as the priest, with the mere exception of the external act of ministration.

For this we need nothing more than the testimony of Leo, who, speaking of the propriety of having the eucharist cele-

<sup>1</sup> Θύομεν δῆτα τοιγαροῦν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· θύομεν τὸ ἔνθεον, κατὰ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς θῦμα. Θύομεν καὶνῶς κατὰ τὴν καινὴν Διαθήκην τὴν καθαρὰν θυσίαν. Θυσία δὲ τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον εἶρηται, κ. τ. λ. Ib. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐκοῦν καὶ θυόμεν καὶ θυμῶμεν· τοτὲ μὲν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος, κατὰ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδοθέντα μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν δι’ εὐσεβῶν ὕμνων τε καὶ εὐχῶν τῷ Θεῷ προσκομίζοντες· τοτὲ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅλῳ καθιεροῦντες αὐτῷ. Ib. p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Many other passages might be adduced to the same effect. The reader will find, for instance, the passage alluded to in a former page from Cyril Alex. in his answer to Julian (lib. x. pp. 343, 345, 350. Op. tom. vi. ed. Aubert.) well worth referring to.



brated more than once in the day on a great festival, if the communicants were so numerous that they were not all able to communicate at one and the same time, says, "Some part of the people would necessarily be deprived of the opportunity of performing their devotions, if, by preserving the custom of having one mass only, they alone who assembled together in the early part of the day should be able to offer the sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> "By which words," says our opponents' witness, Bishop Jewel, "Leo teacheth us plainly, that the sacrifice is offered no less by the people than by the priest."<sup>2</sup> And again; "As this Council," i. e. of Toledo, "saith, the priest offereth the sacrifice at the altar or holy table, even so Leo saith, every of the whole faithful people likewise offereth up the same sacrifice. I say not any other, but the very self-same sacrifice, and that in as ample manner as it is offered by the priest."<sup>3</sup>

And thus in St. Mark's Liturgy it is said, "Receive, O God, the thanksgivings of those that offer sacrifices and oblations to thee."<sup>4</sup> Similar language occurs also in St. Cyril's.<sup>5</sup>

Observable also is the testimony of Chrysostom. "Moreover," he says, "the prayer of thanksgiving in the eucharist is common both to the people and the priest; for the priest does not give thanks alone, but also all the people."<sup>6</sup> The whole context is worth consulting on this matter. This act, be it observed, is spoken of by Justin Martyr<sup>7</sup> as that by which the elements were blessed previous to their reception, and therefore this passage of Chrysostom shows, that, even in

<sup>1</sup> "Necesse est autem, ut quædam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si, unius tantum Missæ more servato, sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint." LEON. MAGN. Epist. ad Dioscor. Ep. Alexandr. epist. 11. (al. 81.) Op. ed. Quesnell. 2a. Lugd. 1700. tom. i. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> JEWEL'S Reply to Harding, Art. 13. Works, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ποσοφόρας, τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς κ. τ. λ. S. MARCI Liturg. in Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. Collect. tom. i. p. 136. ed. Lond. 1847.

Ib. p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινὰ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας. CHRYS. Comment. in Ep. 2. ad Corinth. hom. 18. Op. tom. x. p. 568. ed. Ben.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 379, 380 above.

this part of the Service, the priest was only acting as the leader of the devotions of the people.

(iv.) The direct benefit to be derived from the celebration of the eucharist was to be expected only by the communicants.

"If," saith Ambrose, "as often as the blood is poured out, it is poured out for the remission of sins, *I ought always to receive it, IN ORDER THAT my sins may always be remitted.* I who constantly sin, ought constantly to have the remedy."<sup>1</sup>

"In vain," saith Chrysostom, complaining of the people's non-attendance at the eucharist, "is the daily sacrifice, in vain do we stand at the altar, there is no one who communicates."<sup>2</sup> But it would have been far from being in vain, if thereby remission of sins was obtained for the Church.

Moreover, the antient practice of sending the consecrated bread and wine to those that were absent, whatever may be thought of it in other respects, strongly shows the feeling of the Primitive Church in this matter; which is also witnessed to by its strictness in expecting and requiring all who were competent to receive the eucharist to communicate whenever it was administered.

These are but a few of the testimonies that might be adduced to show the opposition of the Fathers to the views of our opponents; and however much their inaccurate and hyperbolical language may often perplex the inquirer, an impartial review of their sentiments, as a whole, would, I am convinced, satisfy him, that the weight of Patristical testimony is overwhelmingly against both the Romanists and our opponents; and this, be it remembered, is all for which I contend in any point, as I make no pretensions to the support of "everybody always everywhere."

<sup>1</sup> "Si quotiescumque effunditur sanguis, in remissionem peccatorum funditur, debeo illum semper accipere, ut semper mihi peccata dimittantur. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam." AMBROS. De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 6. Op. tom. ii. col. 372. ed. Ben.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰκὴ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκὴ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ· οὐδεὶς δὲ μετέχων. CHRYS. Comment. in Eph. hom. iii. § 4. Op. tom. xi. p. 23. ed. Ben.

The Fathers, as a body, while they speak (and justly) of the offering up of the real body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and attribute the impetration of remission of sins to such a sacrifice alone, not only show their total dissent from the doctrine of transubstantiation, by speaking of the bread and wine as being still bread and wine after consecration, but, though some of them may maintain the propriety of an offering up of the bread and wine to God *after consecration*, as symbolically the body and blood of Christ, disconnect themselves from the notion that the act of the priest in doing this is, even instrumentally, the procuring cause of any remission of sins, by speaking of the sacrifice as consisting principally in that *mental* offering of Christ's sacrifice in the prayers and praises of the hearts of the worshippers, which no one can offer for another.

"As for the ancient Fathers," says Bishop Morton, "who in their objected testimonies talked of Christ *suffering, being slain, and dying in the eucharist*, we Protestants subscribe to their judgments with a full faith, in acknowledgment that Christ's death, the proper work of our propitiation, is the only object of our *remembrance and faith*."<sup>1</sup>

I would observe, then, upon this head, lastly, that it is strictly true, in a sense, that the real sacrifice of the cross, the true body and blood of Christ, are offered up in the eucharist, not by iteration, but *in the prayers of the faithful*. Nay more, remission of sins can only be obtained by the offering up of the true sacrifice of the cross. And how can this be offered up? Confessedly not in the external offering up of the consecrated bread and wine, unless we maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is only, and can only be, offered spiritually in the prayers and thanksgivings of the faithful. And hence, again, it follows, that no remission of sins can be obtained by any external symbolical offering of consecrated bread and wine, or by any one individual for another.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MORTON, Of the Institution of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ. ed. 1635. bk. 6. c. 9. p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> The importance of the subject treated of above has led me to enlarge upon it beyond what the limits of this work would strictly have permitted; and it



It has been objected, that in this statement respecting the "Eucharistic Sacrifice" (which remains in this edition precisely, in sense, what it was in the former) I have not "taken into

has been still impossible to do more than to discuss it in its principal features; and to expose the inaccuracies, misrepresentations, and confusion of the Tract upon which I have commented, would require more space than they are worth. Some of the Tractators appear to have hastily imbibed certain notions from the writings of Brett and Johnson, and one or two more of kindred views, and then, without even giving themselves time fully to understand the nature and consequences of the tenets to which they have thus pledged themselves, to have been led away by a *partial* similarity of *language* in other writers to claim a host in their favour who are altogether opposed to them. Let me commend to their notice the following statement of the doctrine they have undertaken to defend by one of the party from whom they appear to have derived it. "Under the gospel, when the bishop or priest hath received the people's offered materials for the Christian sacrifice, and has made a priestly oblation of them, they are then prepared to be made a sacrifice, and then the priest pronounceth the words of institution over them, and imitateth the actions of our blessed Lord, by which the priest's power to consecrate by commission is shewed, and the sacred symbols become consecrated, as far as is in the power of man to do by commission; and *then* they are fit to be offered up to God by the priest in sacrifice for all the purposes of the institution; and they are accordingly *offered up in sacrifice* to God the Father, as commemorative of and in union with the one great sacrifice once offered by Jesus Christ of himself upon the cross. And this is the proper oblation and sacrifice, which may be called the third oblation, for the other two are neither of them a sacrifice, [i. e. the oblation of the people in presenting the bread and wine, and the oblation of the priest in placing them on the altar;] but this third oblation is a sacrifice, and in the primitive Liturgies is so called *at this period of the service, and not before*; [this is a mistake]; and by the concomitant sacrificial prayer the priest begs of God the Father that he would please to do what none but he can do, to send down the Holy Ghost upon the offered sacrifice, that the sacred and now in part consecrated symbols may, by his effectual operation, become verily and indeed the most precious body and blood of Christ to the receivers. Then the Holy Eucharist is fully consecrated, and energetical for all the divine purposes of the institution; so that now it is a full, perfect, and proper sacrifice of the body of Christ broken, and of his blood shed. All Christians, the whole Catholic Church, the whole communion of saints, are concerned in it, for *thereby* God the Father is *propitiated* for the *whole mystical body of Christ*, living and departed, as it is a sacrifice united to the one great sacrifice, of which all the legal sacrifices were but types."<sup>1</sup> As to the precise period of the

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<sup>1</sup> HON. A. CAMPBELL'S "Essay upon the Holy Eucharist," in his Treatise on the Middle State, pp. 307, 308. Lond. 1721. fol. See, also, BRETT'S Dissert. on the prim. Liturg. p. 121; and L'ESTRANGE'S All. of Div. Off. p. 183 ed. 1690.



account" the antient Liturgies; and it is added, "though he "grounds his proof entirely on *negative* evidence, i. e. on the "silence preserved by the Fathers on the subject, he does not "give any reason to believe that he ever even *heard* of the "'disciplina arcani.'" (Brit. Crit. xxxii. 91.) This is all the answer which a closely-printed review of above seventy pages

sacrificial oblation, this passage differs from the statements of some of the party, who, more consistently, advocated the order of the Service in the Prayer-book of 1549, in which, according to the Romish canon, a sort of oblation was made *after* the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which for that purpose was removed from its place in the antient Liturgies and placed before the words of institution. And this is, clearly, the view of our opponents, who uphold the Liturgy of 1549 (see Tract 81, &c.), and even, as we have seen (p. 363 above), the Romish canon of the Mass. But, in other respects, the passage seems fairly to represent the views of such writers.

There is one more point, however, to which I would here direct the reader's notice, in order to show him to what such views lead. In the eucharist the minister confessedly is to follow the example of our Lord when he instituted it, and consequently, if the one offers a true propitiatory sacrifice to God in it, so did the other. But Scripture tells us that Christ was "*once offered*," and that "by his *one* offering he hath perfected, &c." This, when pressed home, was an argument not easily to be evaded, and accordingly the great defender of the views of our opponents, Mr. Johnson, found himself compelled to take refuge in the assertion that our Lord's sacrifice was made in the eucharist. "Our Saviour," he says, "laid down his life when by a free act of his will he did give his body and blood to God *in the eucharist*." (Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 69.) And against *the sacrifice of the cross* it is pleaded, (I quote from Dr. Waterland) that to suppose it "*is to render the sacrifice of Christ a bloody one indeed; so bloody as that it cannot be reconciled to purity of any sort, till killing one's self be esteemed a virtue*." (Unbl. Sacr. part ii. p. 70.) And thus speaks Dr. Brett, "He could not offer himself a sacrifice in any other manner than by *symbols* or *representations*; for had he in any manner put himself to death, he might have been too justly accused of *self-murder*." (Brett's Answ. to plain Acc. p. 66.) I forbear offering any remark upon such statements, except to remind the reader, that these are two of our opponents' most favoured witnesses, and their works on the list of the Library of *Anglo-Catholic* divines. The reader who desires to enter further into the matter may consult Dr. Waterland's Appendix to his "Christian Sacrifice explained," in the 8th vol. of his Works. He will do well also to consult his "Sacramental part of the eucharist explained," and "Distinctions of Sacrifice," in the same volume. He will there see also some just observations upon that *approximation* to the doctrine of *transubstantiation* which some of our opponents' favourite witnesses had shortly before that time broached, and which I need not say have been revived by their admirers of the present day, but into which it would be beside our present subject to enter.

gives on the point. Whether I have grounded my proof on the *silence* of the Fathers on the subject, the reader of the last few pages is so well able to judge, that I need not say a word on that point; and if I have not done so, the remark about the "*disciplina arcani*," of course, falls to the ground.

But as it respects the antient Liturgies, the reason is obvious why, in a necessarily brief discussion of the point, introduced incidentally in a work on the Rule of faith, it was desirable to keep to those testimonies of the Fathers, the authorship of which could be depended upon, and which more fully showed their views than any mere Formulæ, especially such as are notoriously interpolated, and cannot be traced beyond the fourth century, which is the case probably with all the antient Liturgies extant.

And, in fact, when I allowed the argument to proceed upon the hypothesis, that after a time "the practice of offering up the elements *after consecration*" *may* have prevailed, I granted all, and I believe *more* than all, that the Tractators could obtain from those Liturgies in their favour.

The truth is, however, that a more distinct reference to those Liturgies would only have strengthened my argument on the point; for at least the chief of them *do not sanction the practice of offering up the elements after consecration*, and afford no countenance to the views of the Tractators. I believe I might say the same of all, but that I am not anxious about.

What the Tractators insist upon is, that the elements, *after* they have been changed by consecration into (what I must take the liberty of calling) symbols of the body and blood of Christ, are to be offered up to God by the priest as a propitiatory sacrifice in memory of Christ's sacrifice upon the Cross. And this offering is made in the Liturgy of the Church of Rome, and something very similar was transplanted thence into the first reformed Liturgy of our Church, namely that of 1549, and from thence by Abp. Laud into the Scotch Service-Book of 1637. But this is not the case in the chief of the old Eucharistical forms that remain to us.

To clear this point (which is of some importance) to the

reader, I would remind him, that the act of consecration, according to the best authorities and the view of our Church (as shown by her Service), consists not merely of the recitation of the words of institution ("take, eat, this is," &c.), but of prayer for God's blessing upon the elements, which in our Church is a prayer that we in receiving them may be made partakers of the body and blood of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Now, in none of the more important of the antient Liturgies, (to say the least) is there any offering up of the elements *after* this prayer. For instance, let us take the Clementine Liturgy, and we find, that the offering up of the elements (which are distinctly called "this Bread and this Cup") occurs just after the recitation of the words of institution, but just *before* the prayer to God to send down his Holy Spirit "that he may "make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the "blood of thy Christ;" and no offering up of the elements takes place after that.<sup>2</sup> The same is the case with what is called the Liturgy of St. James, where however the more primitive expression, "we offer to thee this bread and this cup," is changed into, we "offer to thee this tremendous and unbloody

<sup>1</sup> The Church of Rome maintains, against an overwhelmingly *preponderating* weight of evidence against her in Antiquity, that the form of consecration consists of the bare recitation of the words of Institution. Our learned Bingham, however, has clearly proved, that the testimonies of the early Fathers are almost unanimous in declaring, that besides the words of Institution, "Prayer to God to sanctify the gifts by his Holy Spirit" was necessary to the consecration of the elements. (Antiq. bk. 15. c. 3. §. 12.) And the same view is maintained even by Dr. Brett, though he most incorrectly charges the Protestants with holding, like the Romanists, that the words of Institution are "the only Form of Consecration," (Collect. of Liturg. 1720. Dissert. p. 18.) and even accuses our Church of sanctioning this view in her Service, (ib. p. 15.) though the Form is expressly styled "the *Prayer* of Consecration," and contains the words, "grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine [which have been previously dedicated or offered for the purpose on the Holy Table] according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood;" which is in fact equivalent to the Form of Consecration in the antient Liturgies, while we avoid expressions which have led to false doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> See Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. 12. Inter Patr. Apost. ed. Coteler. 1724. tom. i. p. 407.



sacrifice,"<sup>1</sup> but the sacrifice is only of the bread and wine to be applied to the purposes of the Eucharist, for the prayer follows *after*, that God will send his Holy Spirit to make the bread the body of Christ and the wine his blood. The same is the order observed in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil. In the latter, the words are only, "we offer to thee thine own, out of thine own gifts," that is, clearly, the gifts of bread and wine, according to the language (above quoted) of Irenæus. In the former, we find added to these words the following, "we offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody worship" (λατρείαν), which however do not affect the question at issue.<sup>2</sup> And in the probably still more antient Liturgy of St. Mark, there is no formal oblation of the bread and wine at all in this latter part of the Service; for the words used are only these, "We, O Lord God, have set before thee thine own, out of thine own gifts;"<sup>3</sup> and then follows the prayer, "Send down thine Holy Spirit upon us and upon these loaves and these cups, that the Almighty God may sanctify and thoroughly consecrate them [showing that they were not considered as consecrated before], making the bread the body and the cup the blood of the New Testament of our Lord Himself our God, our Saviour," &c. And nothing in the shape of oblation or presentation of the elements comes after this.<sup>4</sup> And it is observable that in this Liturgy the word "sacrifice" is applied to the elements in at least two places before either the recitation of the words of institution or the invocation. One instance I have already mentioned above (p. 402); another is, where the priest, on signing the elements with the sign of the cross, which is done *previous* to the reci-

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν. FABRICII Codex Apocr. N. T. Pars 3a. Hamb. 1719. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> See them in the Ἀρχιερατικὴν. Constant. 1820. fol. or in any work giving the Greek Liturgies. That of Basil is in Renaudot. Lit. Or. Coll. Both are given in an English translation by Brett in his "Collection of Liturgies."

<sup>3</sup> Σοὶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δάρων προσθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου.

<sup>4</sup> See RENAUDOT. Liturg. Orient. Collect. ed. 1847. tom. i. pp. 141, 142; or, FABRICII Codex Apocr. N. T. Pars 3a. pp. 297, 8. In English in BRETT's Collection of Liturgies.



tation of the words of institution, speaks of them as "this sacrifice" (ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν).

But the Church of Rome has completely transposed the parts in this division of the Service, making the prayer to God to send his Spirit upon the elements *precede* the recitation of the words of institution (by which they maintain that the priest transubstantiates them), and the offering up of the elements then comes after both the prayer and the words of institution, and so is made to be the offering up of the *consecrated* (and, as they suppose, transubstantiated) elements; which is represented as a sacrifice of atonement, valid through its antitype, offered up by the priest as a Mediator for the people with God.

And this order was followed in our first reformed Prayer-Book of 1549,<sup>1</sup> but was altered immediately after in the revision of 1552, and has never been restored.

Consequently we find, that so far from the antient Liturgies favouring the doctrine of our opponents, those who have taken similar views with them have been obliged to make a most important alteration in the order of the Eucharistical Service from that observed in those Liturgies, so as to turn a simple offering or dedication of the bread and wine to God's service in that rite into an offering up of the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ; which they would fain make out to be an

<sup>1</sup> This variation from the antient Liturgies is admitted by Dr. Brett himself, who says, that "in this the Roman Canon and that English Liturgy which was made from it, are singular and particular, in that they place this Invocation before the words of institution and the oblation of the elements, which in *all other Liturgies* follows in the last place;" and adds, that this "certainly is the most natural order, the Holy Spirit by his descent *completing and perfecting the consecration.*" (Collect. of Liturg. 1720. Dissert. p. 127.) So that he holds, that the elements were not consecrated till after the Invocation, and a glance at the antient Liturgies he has himself given would have shown him, that there was no offering up of the elements after that Invocation; while nevertheless, to uphold his doctrine, (though he puts an oblation and the invocation in the old place) he praises the Liturgy of 1549, and his "New Communion Office" proposes a prayer to God, *after the Invocation*, "to accept these our oblations [meaning the elements], and to receive these our prayers, *which* [oblations and prayers, as the stops show] *we offer* unto thy Divine Majesty." (Ib. p. 143.) And thus he has made a Form of his own for which no preceding Liturgy of any Church or age afforded an example.

atoning sacrifice offered by the priest for the sins of the people, yea, even of the whole Church.

It is maintained, *fourthly*, by the Tractators, that, by this sacrifice so offered, an additional refreshment is obtained for the souls of the dead in the Intermediate State.

This is a question which more immediately concerns the point we have next to consider; to which, therefore, we refer the reader; and we shall there prove, that the prayers for the dead, made by the antients, were (to use the language of Bishop Morton,) only "thankful congratulations for their present joys, or else testimonies of their hope and desires of their future resurrection, and consummation of their blessedness, both in their bodies and souls."<sup>1</sup>

Such prayers were always made at the celebration of the Eucharist, and most properly; for at what time could we more appropriately introduce such supplications, than on such an occasion; and hence it was, that the Eucharist came to be often celebrated in the Primitive Church at the burial of the dead, when these prayers might be considered as having a peculiar reference to the person whose body had just been interred; and so in our own Church, in the time of Queen Elizabeth (a. 1560), a Form for the "*celebratio cœnæ Domini in Funebribus, si amici et vicini defuncti communicare velint*," was issued by Royal authority.<sup>2</sup> And hence the term "oblations for the dead," frequently to be met with in Tertullian and Cyprian, meaning celebrations of the Eucharist (which was called *the oblation*) with a particular reference to a person deceased, in which, probably, was offered a thanksgiving for the blessings vouchsafed him during life, and a prayer that he might attain a happy resurrection, and find mercy at the day of Judgment, and be admitted to that perfect state of happiness which then awaits the just.

(3) There remains for our consideration the *third* doctrine for which it is said that we are indebted to Tradition; viz. *That there is an Intermediate State, in which the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace; that they pray for us,*

<sup>1</sup> MORTON'S Cath. App. ii. S. § 2. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Britann. ed. Wilkins. iv. 217. or, Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c.

*and that our prayers benefit them*;—words, whose meaning is so elastic, that it is difficult precisely to know what the doctrine intended to be conveyed by them is, as they might be understood so as to include almost the whole Romish doctrine of Purgatory.

As this is a matter of no little interest and importance, and there may be mistakes in both extremes respecting it, we shall devote a few pages to the consideration of it.

In the first place, however, I must repeat the remark, that any teaching upon this subject, which depends upon Patristical statements for its authority, is as uncertain and unauthoritative as are those statements. All which we receive as *certain* on the point, is grounded upon the declarations of Scripture; and however little Scripture may be supposed to have revealed respecting it, with that little we must rest satisfied, as being all that can be *certainly* known respecting it; nor has our Church, as far as I am aware, laid down anything respecting it which Scripture does not teach. It is a point, however, in which men may differ somewhat in opinion; and one may see more, and another less, in Scripture; and consequently the faith of men may vary in extent, inasmuch as Scripture has not spoken so clearly on this point as on those that are more essential to us. There are, nevertheless, *limits* which Scripture will not allow us to pass in our notions on this matter; limits which the Romanists have grievously transgressed; and therefore it is very necessary to define and limit the meaning of words used in common. The Romanists, when they speak of the doctrine of the Intermediate State, mean their tenet of Purgatory; and it is to be feared, that the doctrine which our opponents hold on this subject, is not sufficiently dissimilar; while, nevertheless, the doctrine that there is an Intermediate State in which the souls of the just are, between their death and resurrection, different from that in which they will be placed after the day of Judgment, is, in my belief, clearly deducible from Scripture; and that, *by long residence in such a State, such souls attain a higher degree of sanctification than they had upon entering it*, seems to be a truth that necessarily flows from the acknowledged character



of that State. Moreover, if the dead in Christ await the period of the Resurrection and Judgment to be put in possession of that heavenly inheritance in which they will again enjoy communion with the Father, then a prayer that the Lord will be pleased to hasten the period of his future coming and place his Church in the possession of that inheritance, does in a sense include the dead as well as the living; but more than this neither Scripture nor the writings of the *earliest* Fathers seem to warrant.

I will now endeavour to show, that the doctrine of the Intermediate State may be proved from Scripture.

"When the Son of man shall come in his glory," saith our Lord, "with all the holy angels, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them, &c. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, *inherit the kingdom* prepared for you from the foundation of the world," &c. (See Matt. xxv. 31, et seq.) Is it not apparent from this passage, that the righteous do not "inherit the kingdom," until after this sentence at the day of Judgment? It cannot surely be said, that the righteous come from the possession of that kingdom to be placed at the bar only to be sent back to it?

And this is still more apparent from a passage of St. Peter, where, speaking of the promised inheritance of the saints, he calls it "an inheritance . . . reserved in heaven for you who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed *in the last time*," adding, "Be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you *at the revelation of Jesus Christ*." (1 Pet. i. 4, 5, 13.)

Indeed, that the saints should be brought up to Judgment after having been put in possession of the promised inheritance, or, which is equivalent, that they should be put in possession of that inheritance before Judgment is passed upon them, seems to render the Judgment nugatory and useless. And the notion of a particular Judgment at the time of death,



which some have entertained, has, as far as I am aware, no support in Scripture. On the contrary, Judgment is, I think, always connected with the final day of account. "He that rejecteth me," saith our Lord, "and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him *in the last day*." (John xii. 48.) The notion of any other Judgment than that which is to take place at the last day, is a mere figment of the imagination.

Moreover, the period of the Resurrection and Judgment is the period everywhere pointed out in the Scriptures as that to which our eyes should be directed as *the day of reward*. "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, &c., and thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee; for thou shalt be recompensed *at the resurrection of the just*." (Luke xiv. 13, 14.) "Who will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life. But unto them that are contentious. . . indignation, &c. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel*." (Rom. ii. 6—16.) "That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." (1 Cor. v. 5.) "To you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels," &c. (See 2 Thess. i. 7, et seq.) "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me *at that day*: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." (2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.) "When the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away." (1 Pet. v. 4.) "The nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and thou *shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name*," &c. (Rev. xi. 18.)

Now these passages (and many others of like import might

be added to them,) seem clearly to show, that the great promised reward is not to be expected by the servants of Christ until the day of Judgment after the Resurrection, and consequently that until that period they are in a different state from that in which they will be placed afterwards.

That there is, however, a State of rest and peace into which the souls of believers are admitted at their death, is evident from our Lord's parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where he tells us, that Lazarus, when he died, was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, (Luke xvi. 23,) which is evidently a metaphorical expression, signifying a state of rest and happiness, and is used by many of the Fathers to express the intermediate state of the righteous, as indeed it was among the Jews in our Saviour's time. There is also a passage in the Book of Revelation, which, while it seems clearly to show, that the martyrs themselves await the period of the Resurrection for their full reward, also indicates, that they are in a state of consciousness and of happiness. "When he had opened the fifth seal," it is said, "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." (Rev. vi. 9—11.) In this state, then, they are to remain until the end, when they and all their brethren are to receive their reward together.

And the existence of this Intermediate State of rest is further confirmed by our Lord's promise to the dying penitent thief, "Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," (Luke xxiii. 43,) the soul of Christ being about to descend to *hades* for the period between his death and resurrection. (Acts ii. 27, 31.)

And in like manner the souls of the wicked, though in a

State of suffering, are not in that State in which they will be placed after the Judgment, for they also await the decision of the great day of account to receive their full punishment, however much their present condition may be, and no doubt is (like that of the righteous) an earnest of that which surely awaits them. For, "we must all appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ, that *every one may receive* the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good *or bad.*" (2 Cor. v. 10.) "And God *reserves* the unjust unto the day of Judgment to be punished." (2 Pet. ii. 9.) See also Rom. ii. 6—16.

And when the rich sinner died, he lifted up his eyes in *hades*, and was in torments; (Luke xvi. 23;) but, after the final Judgment, the wicked will be cast into "the lake of fire," (τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός) (Rev. xx. 15,) that lake in which *hades* itself is to be swallowed up. (ver. 14.)

And this word *hades* seems to be the name for the Intermediate Place of *all* departed spirits, for in the same place, though in a different division of it, was the soul of Lazarus in a state of rest and peace; and to the same place went the soul of our Saviour between his death and resurrection, (Acts ii. 27, 31;) and at the final Judgment death and *hades* deliver up the dead that are in them, who are judged every man according to their works, (Rev. xx. 13;) and hence St. Paul, when contemplating the resurrection of *the saints*, says, "O *hades*, where is thy victory?" (1 Cor. xv. 55.)<sup>1</sup> And of this place our Lord is said to have the keys, (Rev. i. 18,) doubtless with reference to that power by which, at the last day, he will call out of it the souls of the departed, to reunite them to their bodies, when death and *hades* shall deliver up the dead that are in them, (Rev. xx. 13;) and thus the gates of *hades* shall not prevail over his Church, (Matt. xvi. 18;) for though

<sup>1</sup> The word *hell*, sometimes used by our translators to express *hades*, is, in its proper signification (in which, perhaps, our translators have also used it in Acts ii. 27, 31, and Rev. xx. 13,) exactly expressive of the meaning given above to the word *hades*, though unfortunately it has become almost exclusively appropriated to a more limited sense. In its primary and original signification, says Lord King, "It imports no more than *an invisible and hidden*

for a time they shall detain it, yet at the period of the Resurrection it shall be called thence by him who has the keys of those gates in his hands ; and *then* it shall be said, "O hades, where is thy victory?"

If, then, these Scriptures show, that there is such an Intermediate State, in which the souls of the faithful remain in a holy and happy condition till the period of the Resurrection and Judgment, then their progressive sanctification in such a State seems a necessary consequence ; and, moreover, a prayer that they and we may ultimately attain a happy resurrection, and find mercy at the day of Judgment, is only a prayer for blessings for which we are taught to pray. The purification which such a State is calculated to produce, is no improbable mode of preparation to make us meet for and capable of the full enjoyment of the beatific vision of God in the State which will succeed the Judgment. But the only purification, be it observed, of which we here speak, is that which *necessarily results from a residence in* such a State as that in which, *the Scriptures assure us*, the souls of the faithful departed are placed, namely, *a State of rest, peace, and holiness*, from which the wicked are excluded. And the only prayers which we admit to be justifiable, are such as the declarations of Scripture authorize. And the prayers of which we have here spoken, were, as Archbishop Usher has shown, precisely those which were made in

*place*, being derived from the old Saxon word *hil*, which signifies to *hide*, or from the participle thereof, *hilled*, that is to say, *hidden or covered* ; as in the western parts of England at this very day, to *hele* over any thing signifies, amongst the common people, to *cover* it . . . . From whence it appears that the word *hell*, according to its primitive notion, exactly answers to the Greek word *ᾗδης*, *hades*, which signifies the *common mansion of all separated souls*, and was so called quasi *ὁ ἀϊδης τόπος*, because it is *an unseen place*, removed from the sight and view of the living, according to which the translator of Irenæus renders it by *an invisible place* (*invisibilem locum*, lib. v. c. 26.)" KING'S History of the Apostles' Creed, c. iv. pp. 191, 2. ed. 1719 ; where see more. In the older version of the Psalms, in the Book of Common Prayer, there is a very clear instance of its use in this sense. "What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death ; and shall he deliver his soul from the hand of hell?" (Ps. lxxxix. 48.)



the antient Church in their commemorations for the dead. Having noticed some of these prayers, the Archbishop says,—“ In these, and other prayers of the like kind, we may descry  
“ evident footsteps of the primary intentions of the Church in  
“ her supplications for the dead; which was, that the whole  
“ man, not the soul separated only, might receive public remis-  
“ sion of sins, and a solemn acquittal in the Judgment of that  
“ great day, and so obtain both a full escape from all the con-  
“ sequences of sin,—the last enemy being now destroyed, and  
“ death swallowed up in victory,—and a perfect consummation  
“ of bliss and happiness.”<sup>1</sup> And again,—“ The Church, in  
“ her commemorations and prayers, had relation . . . unto  
“ those that led their lives in such a godly manner as gave  
“ pregnant hope unto the living that their souls were at rest  
“ with God; and to such as these alone did it wish *the accom-*  
“ *plishment of that which remained of their redemption; to wit,*  
“ *their public justification and solemn acquittal at the last day,*  
“ *and their perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul,*  
“ *in the kingdom of heaven for ever after.* Not that the event  
“ of these things was conceived to be any ways *doubtful*, for  
“ we have been told, that things may be prayed for, the event  
“ whereof is known to be *most certain*, but because the com-  
“ moration thereof was thought to serve for special use, not  
“ only in regard of the manifestation of the affection of the  
“ living toward the dead, (he that prayed, as Dionysius noteth,  
“ *desiring other men’s gifts as if they were his own graces,*) but  
“ also in respect of the consolation and instruction which the  
“ living might receive thereby.”<sup>2</sup> And so Bishop Morton,  
speaking of these prayers, says,—“ What can all these prayers  
“ else signify, but *thankful congratulations for their present*  
“ *joys, or else testimonies of their hope and desires of their future*  
“ *resurrection, and consummation of their blessedness, both in*  
“ *their bodies and souls?* ”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> USHER’S Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge, pp. 154, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 178. See the whole of his observations on “ Prayer for the dead,” in pp. 133—91.

<sup>3</sup> MORTON’S Catholic Appeal, ii. 8. § 2. p. 190. I would here observe, that

And so much the language of our Church seems to some to imply, when, in her Service for the burial of the dead, she teaches us to pray, that God would “shortly accomplish the “number of his elect, and *hasten his kingdom*, that we, *with “all those that are departed in the true faith of his holy name*, “may have our *perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and “soul*, in his eternal and everlasting glory.” Here is a clear reference to that more perfect State of happiness in which the saints of God are to be placed after the union of body and soul, in the Resurrection, and a prayer that that period may *shortly* arrive, and that we, *with* those who have departed in the true faith, may then be put in possession of that happiness. There is, no doubt, an ambiguity in the phraseology which leaves it open to two interpretations ; but, as Abp. Usher says, in the passage just quoted, it does not show that we consider the event at all doubtful in the case of those who have departed in the true faith, even if we suppose such a prayer to include *them* ; and certainly a prayer that the Church may *soon* be put in possession of the promised inheritance, is one in which *all* its members are interested. But the prayers which went further than this in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., were, at the revision, cancelled.

But our opponents, — though certainly differing from the Romanists in this matter, yet nevertheless — are not contented to leave the matter thus, but will presume to know more than Scripture has revealed respecting the nature of that State, and assert that the condition of souls in the Intermediate State may be altered by our prayers ; laying this down, also, as the doctrine of “the Church,” and, consequently, as demanding our belief ; and thus, rashly intrude into things not revealed. What authority is there for the assertion, that it is the doctrine of “the Church,” that the condition of souls in the Intermediate State can be altered or benefited by our prayers ? To put it even upon the consentient testimony of the Fathers is out of the question, for, as we have seen, we have not their consent for an Inter-

Bishop Morton is opposed even to what I have admitted above as to the doctrine of the Intermediate State. See his Cath. App. ii. 8. § 5. p. 193.

mediate State at all. Nay, Archbishop Usher has shown, that in the question, "Whether the dead did receive *any* peculiar profit" by the prayers made for them, there was "great difference among the doctors;"<sup>1</sup> and that so late as the eighth century, even the *lawfulness* of offering oblations for the dead, was a question;<sup>2</sup> and hence, the Archbishop reckons it "a *private conceit* entertained by divers, as well of the elder as "of the middle times, in their devotions for the dead," that "an *augmentation of glory* might thereby be procured for the saints;" quoting, as an example of this opinion, the words of Ivo Carnotensis, "It doth not seem *idle*, if we make intercessions for those who already enjoy rest, *that their rest may be increased*;"<sup>3</sup> where the notion, we may observe, though advocated, is not put forward with any confidence.

Here, however, as in other cases, the "private conceit" of divers antient doctors is solemnly laid down by our opponents as the doctrine of "the Church;" and to it they have added as part also of "the Church's" doctrine, that the departed saints pray for us; which, in the sense in which they speak of it, namely, as if the departed saints knew our circumstances and wants, is not only destitute of any valid testimony in its favour, but actually opposed to Scripture. I deny not, indeed, that the departed saints may offer *general* supplications for beloved relatives or friends left behind them; but not as conscious of their peculiar circumstances, still less as cognizant of prayers made by them. And no doctrine on the subject has been laid down either by Scripture or "the Church."

And the dogmatism of the Tractators on these points is not the less remarkable from the fact, that Archbishop Usher's whole discussion of this subject, in his Answer to the Jesuit, has been reprinted in the 72d. of the "Tracts for the Times;" which shows that these statements of our opponents have been made in the face of evidence placed before them, that there was no Patristical consent for them; an inconsistency which, however surprising, is in such cases by no means uncommon. But

<sup>1</sup> USHER'S Answer to the Jesuit, pp. 186 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 168.



it is *both surprising and uncommon* that it should be said, in the face of the Archbishop's observations given above, "That the prayers of the living benefit the dead in Christ, is, to say the least, not inconsistent, as USHER shows us, with *the primitive belief.*"<sup>1</sup> Such an observation I would rather content myself with pointing out, than venture to comment upon.<sup>2</sup>

Nor, apparently, is their doctrine as to the nature of the Intermediate State, so different from that of the Romanists as they would fain represent it to be. True; they blame the Romanists for making it a place of suffering, but they would have spoken more consistently, if they had only blamed them for making it a place of *so much* suffering as they do, for it is but a question of *degree* with them, as the observations they have made in their Tract on Purgatory (Tract 79) fully show. They there admit, that they hold with the Romanists, "that the great majority die in God's favour, yet more or less under *the bond of their sins,*" because "after baptism there is no plenary pardon of sins in this life to the sinner, however penitent, such as in baptism was once vouchsafed to him," adding, "If for sins committed after baptism we have not yet received a simple and unconditional absolution, surely penitents from this time *up to the day of Judgment,* may be considered in that double state of which the Romanists speak, their persons accepted, but *certain sins uncancelled.*" And they then quote the case of David

<sup>1</sup> Tract 79, On Purgatory, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> There is a painful want both of accuracy and of ingenuousness in the writings of our opponents. On this very subject, the observations of Dr. Pusey, in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, (pp. 186, et seq.) are wanting in candour, because they do not point out any distinction in the nature of the prayers offered for the dead, *except* such as are "connected with the modern doctrine of Purgatory," and then make use of Archbishop Usher's name, as if he had taken the same view with the writers of the Tracts, of whom this Letter was written as a defence. Again, "Both Romanist and ultra-Protestant," he complains, "dogmatize about the state of departed souls." But what is the meaning of this complaint in a defender of the statements we have quoted above? Is it correct also to say, that "the ultra-protestant . . . decides peremptorily, that the departed saints are already in full possession of the joys of heaven," when he must be perfectly aware of the freely conceded difference of opinion on this subject among those whom he calls "ultra-protestants?"



(2 Sam. xii. 13, 14,) as "a perspicuous instance of a penitent "restored to God's favour at once, yet *his sin afterwards "visited;*" from which, if the case has any pertinency to the point in question, we are of course left to conclude, that the uncanceled sins of believers may be visited by punishments in the Intermediate State; and they may therefore well add, "So "far, then, we cannot be said materially to oppose the Romanists." (pp. 6, 7.) Doubtless they cannot. *And out of these notions have arisen all the abuses to which the Romish Purgatory has given rise.*

Nor is this doctrine of praying for the dead that the punishment of their sins may be remitted, or, even, that any limitation placed to their happiness in consequence of their sins may be removed, one of small moment; because it tends to encourage a delusive hope in the living. As Bishop Morton says,—"We are justly stayed from performing any such kindness, "which, instead of showing love unto the dead, might seduce "the living with deceivable hopes of succour after their "death."<sup>1</sup>

To these "traditionary" doctrines Romanists add, among others, *the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell*, and that of *the validity of baptism performed by heretics*.

The latter we have already considered,<sup>2</sup> and shown to have been a controverted point in the antient Church; and therefore we need not here detain the reader with another word respecting it.

Of the former, we say with Bishop Pearson,<sup>3</sup> that when the Apostle, quoting Ps. xvi. 8—10, says, that David there "spake "of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in "hell, neither his flesh did see corruption," (Acts ii. 25, 26, 27, 30, 31,) "from this place the Article is *clearly* and *INFAL-* "LIBLY deduced thus: If the soul of Christ were not left in "hell at his resurrection, then his soul was in hell before his "resurrection; but it was not there before his death; therefore upon or after his death, and before his resurrection, the "soul of Christ descended into hell." And he proceeds to

<sup>1</sup> MORTON'S Cath. App. ii. 8. p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. 1. pp. 312 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> PEARSON'S Expos. of the Creed, Art. 5.

quote Augustine (Ep. 99. al. 164. § 3.) as referring to this passage as a clear and undeniable proof of the doctrine.

There remain to be considered the cases that relate to certain *matters of fact*, and points that do not *immediately* belong either to the *doctrines* or *rites* of Christianity; namely,

- (1) The Canon of Scripture.
- (2) That Melchizedek's feast is a type of the Eucharist.
- (3) That the Book of Canticles represents the union between Christ and his Church.

(4) That Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs, refers to the Second Person of the Sacred Trinity.

(5) The alleged *perpetual* virginity of the Mother of our Lord.

To the *first* of these we have already devoted a previous chapter. The *second* and *fourth* we have also considered in a former chapter, and shown that, so far from our being indebted to Tradition for any certain testimony respecting them, the Fathers themselves were not agreed on the subject;<sup>1</sup> which shows how easily men may deceive themselves in fancying consent of Fathers, where nevertheless it does not exist. As it respects the *third*, the sole question is, Has this book sufficient evidence for its being received as part of the Canon of Scripture? If so, it refers to religion, and has a spiritual meaning; which is all we "*know with tolerable certainty about the matter,*" or need to know to show us what it is the allegory represents.

One point, the *fifth*, remains, viz., the alleged perpetual virginity of the Mother of our Lord.

It is with much unwillingness that I enter upon the discussion of this point, lest I should appear to any one to speak slightly of one so highly honoured of God; and to whom, if upon earth, I should be disposed to pay higher reverence and respect, than to the most potent empress that ever sat upon an earthly throne. Far be it from me to speak with any degree of levity with respect to one so "highly favoured" of God, and whom "all generations shall call blessed."

But, let me ask, what possible meaning can they have who

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 340—343.

connect this matter with religion? What possible bearing can such a point have upon faith or piety? How, moreover, was it ascertained? Will our opponents venture to assert, that it was divinely revealed to the Apostles, and by them delivered to the Church? If not, who could know anything about it? for it is at least clear from Scripture, that Joseph took her to wife, and that they lived together as in that relationship; though he “knew her not, *till* she had brought forth her *firstborn* Son;” (Matt. i. 25;) which words, we may remark, notwithstanding the criticism which Basil proposes as a way of getting over the difficulty, are clearly rather favourable to the notion of union after that birth. But be that as it may, all that we protest against, and what we do earnestly protest against, is, the laying down such a point, as one that has any connexion with piety or religion in any way, when it has no more connexion with them than the colour of her dress. The blue hood with which she is generally depicted might as well be made an article of religious belief; unless, indeed, the authority of the primitive Father, Clement of Alexandria, shall prevail in favour of white, which he seems to think the only proper colour for Christians;<sup>1</sup> and so the blue (which, by the way, is one of those he particularly excepts against) be pronounced heretical. And this, forsooth, is one of the great recommendations of “Tradition,” that to it, as Mr. Newman reminds us, we are altogether indebted for this doctrine! Whether “Tradition” *has* delivered it, we shall see presently. But wherein does the religion of it consist? Is it in the supposed honour thus done to the Mother of our Lord? I know not why the contrary supposition should be considered dishonourable to her, under the circumstances in which she was placed, as one living with Joseph as his wife. Or is it in the honour paid to certain Fathers, in our receiving whatever they deliver to us? If this is religion, we must add many more such notions to our articles of belief to be religious. Granting even, that it is more honourable to the Mother of our Lord to suppose, that she remained separate from her husband to the end of her life,

<sup>1</sup> See his *Pædag.* lib. ii. c. 10. pp. 234, 5, and lib. iii. c. 11. pp. 285, 6. ed. Potter.



what I would ask is, Of what moment is the knowledge of such a fact to us? No one, I suppose, will presume to say, that it is a *revealed* fact; in which case I admit that the fact of its being revealed should be sufficient to prevent our asking such a question. But if it be not a revealed fact, then such a question may fairly be asked. Nor is it a matter of little moment, that such points should be imposed upon Christians, as matters which they *ought* to believe; and of sufficient importance even to recommend "Tradition" to us as being the only medium by which such *truths* can be made known to us. They are a snare and a burthen to the conscience, which men have no right to impose under the sacred name of "the Church;" when they are in fact, or at least can only be traced to, the mere private fancies of individuals. Any one who will cast his eye over Gennadius's list of the doctrines of "the Church," will at once see how this name has been abused.

Nay more; how stand the testimonies of the Fathers on this point? The only Father that can be quoted on the subject, for the first two centuries and a half, is Tertullian; and he, instead of defending the doctrine, uses words which *confessedly* show, that he believed the contrary.<sup>1</sup> And what reply does Jerome give to Helvidius, when quoting Tertullian in favour of this opinion? This only;—"That he did not belong to the Church."<sup>2</sup> But this is evidently no reply; because the errors that Tertullian had embraced, would have induced him to favour the doctrine of her perpetual virginity, if he had conceived himself to have had any ground for it. If there had been such a tradition, as Bishop Stillingfleet says, "one would think, that one so near the Apostles as Tertullian was, might easily have learned such a tradition; and so great a friend to virginity as he was, while a Montanist, should not have been apt to believe the contrary."<sup>3</sup> It is clear, then, that at that

<sup>1</sup> "Christum quidem Virgo enixa est, semel *nuptura post partum*." TERTULL. De Monogam. c. 8. Op. ed. 1664, p. 529. See also De vel. virg. c. 6. et De carne Christi, c. 23.

<sup>2</sup> "De Tertulliano quidem nihil amplius dico quam Ecclesiæ hominem non fuisse." HIERON. Adv. Helvid. § 17. Op. tom. ii. col. 225.

<sup>3</sup> STILLINGFLEET'S Rational Account, &c. Pt. 1. c. 6. p. 165. ed. 1665.



time there was at least no general agreement in favour of the point.

Origen, I admit, speaks as if he thought it *probable*, and more honourable to the Mother of our Lord than the contrary supposition; but not as if it was any part of religion. "If," he says, "there was no son of Mary, *according to those who think soundly respecting her*, but Jesus; and Jesus says, &c. . ."<sup>1</sup>

This again shows, that there was no consent in the Church at that time in favour of the opinion; though Origen, of course, thought, that they who agreed with him took the *right* view. And this follows, also, from another passage, where Origen, having stated that some supposed, that "the brethren" of Jesus were the children of Joseph, by a former wife, says,—“They who say this, are desirous of preserving the dignity of Mary in perpetual virginity . . . . and I think it is reasonable, that of men, Jesus should be the first-fruits of the pureness of chastity, and of women, Mary.”<sup>2</sup>

And again, when meeting the strange notion that some had maintained, that Jesus denied Mary *because of her having married Joseph after his birth*, (which shows, at least, their belief of her union with Joseph after the birth of our Lord,) all that he ventures to affirm is, “Moreover they have no *proof* of what they assert, that she *married* after his birth;”<sup>3</sup> though, by the good Father’s leave, it is plain enough from Scripture, that Joseph and Mary lived together, as far as external appearances went, as man and wife; and possibly it might have been better for all parties, if they had been contented there to leave it, and not indulged an idle and impertinent curiosity about a matter which no way concerned them. And, to my

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς υἱὸς Μαρίας, κατὰ τοὺς ὑγιῶς περὶ αὐτῆς δοξάζοντας, ἢ Ἰησοῦς, φησὶ δὲ Ἰησοῦς τῇ μήτερι, κ. τ. λ. ORIG. Comment. in Johann. tom. 1. § 6. Op. ed. Ben. tom. iv. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν παρθενίᾳ τηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους βούλονται . . . . καὶ οἶμαι λόγον ἔχειν, ἀνδρῶν μὲν καθαρότητος τῆς ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἀπαρχὴν γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, γυναικῶν δὲ τὴν Μαρίας. ORIG. Comment. in Matt. tom. 10. § 17. Op. tom. iii. p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> “Porro quod asserunt eam nupsisse post partum, unde approbent non habent.” ORIG. In Luc. hom. 7. Op. tom. iii. p. 940.

mind, this appears to have been the feeling of Basil himself. For, commenting on the text, "He knew her not, till she had brought forth her first-born son," he says, that this affords a ground for supposing, that after the birth of Christ she did not remain a virgin, and adds, "But we, ALTHOUGH IT DOES NOT AT ALL OFFEND AGAINST THE DOCTRINE OF PIETY, (for "the virginity was necessary until her ministry in the fulfilment of the dispensation was performed, but *what happened afterwards is not to be curiously inquired into, as if it had anything to do with the doctrine of the mystery*,) yet, nevertheless, because the ears of the lovers of Christ do not like "to entertain the idea that she who brought forth him who "was God ever ceased to be a virgin, we think these testimonies sufficient."<sup>1</sup> He then proceeds to remark, that the word *until* (ἕως) does not always denote a definite time, that is, limit what is spoken of to a certain time,<sup>2</sup> quoting in proof Matt. xxviii. 20. "Behold I am with you alway, even until the end of the world;" and also to refer to the tradition that Zacharias was killed by the Jews because he placed the Virgin Mary among the virgins in the temple after the birth of our Lord, which, however, as the Benedictine editors themselves admit, does not show that she always remained a virgin, and which Origen himself does not quote as of any authority.<sup>3</sup> But the words with which Basil himself commences the subject (as quoted above) seem to indicate, that he did not

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ὑπόνοιαν παρέχει, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καθαρῶς ὑπηρετήσασθαι τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ ἐπιτελεσθείσῃ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, τὰ νενομισμένα τοῦ γάμου ἔργα μὴ ἀπαρησαμένῃς τῆς Μαρίας· ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας παραλυμαίνεται λόγῳ, (μέχρι γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἀναγκαῖα ἡ παρθενία, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀπολυπραγμόνητον τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μυστηρίου,) ὁμῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τῶν φιλοχρίστων τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο εἶναι παρθένος ἢ θεοτόκος, ἐκείνας ἡγούμεθα τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτάρκεις. BASIL. CÆSAR. Homil. in sanct. Christi generat. § 5. Op. ed. Ben. tom. ii. pp. 599, 600.

<sup>2</sup> Epiphanius gives a different explanation of these words. See EPIPH. Adv. hæc. in hæc. 78. Antidic. § 20. Op. tom. i. p. 1051.

<sup>3</sup> This story is given by Origen as a tradition which had come to his ears, (venit ad nos quædam traditio talis,) but he does not quote it as of any authority. See ORIG. Comment. Series in Matth. n. 25. Op. tom. iii. p. 845, 6.

himself think his testimonies sufficient strictly to prove it. They at least show, that he believed religion or piety to have nothing to do with the subject; and that he knew nothing of its being a tradition of the Church; and hence the reader will not be surprised to learn, that his Homily has been thrown by the Benedictine Editors, without any good reason, into their Appendix as spurious, with a "*caute legendum*" in the margin.

Further; they who tell us, that we are indebted altogether to Tradition for this doctrine, if it may so be called, should remember, that its earliest known defenders prove it, or rather attempt to prove it, from Scripture, and pretend not to any definite successional delivery of it from the Apostolical age. Such, for instance, is the case with Epiphanius,<sup>1</sup> who derives almost all his arguments on the subject from Scripture, and who, vehement as he is in some parts against the admission of the contrary supposition as dishonourable to the parties concerned, has evidently no notion of its being a matter affecting religion or piety, but was principally anxious that the *contrary* supposition should not be laid down as a *point of belief*. For, thus he speaks,—“*Of what use is it to us,*” saith he, “*to inquire concerning it, even if she was united to Joseph, which we must not think? And which is preferable, to commit matters to God, or to force upon ourselves the worst? That it is not written, that if we do not believe that Mary was afterwards united to Joseph, we shall not have eternal life, but come into judgment, is manifest . . . But men pass by necessary things, those that concern the truth of the faith, those that are connected with the glory of God, and heap to themselves things that tend to their hurt, from every quarter in which they can find them. Alas! that it should be thought of, particularly when the Scripture does not speak of it.* For, if the Scripture had mentioned it, we should have embraced the truth without hesitation. For marriage is not impure, the bed is not polluted; for is not ‘the bed undefiled?’ [Heb. xiii. 4.]”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EPIPH. Adv. hæc., hæc. 78. Antidicomarian. Op. tom. i. pp. 1033—57.

<sup>2</sup> Τι δὲ ὠφέλησεν ἡμᾶς, εἰ καὶ συνήφθη, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο, περὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν;



This is very different from laying down the doctrine in question as one that has been handed down by "Tradition," and that concerns religion, and ought to be believed. And from this passage of Epiphanius we may see, that the great object in view with those who wrote on this question, was, to protest against the *opposite* doctrine being laid down as one that *ought* to be held; and this perhaps was the reason why such hard names as heretic, &c. were applied to Helvidius and the Antidicomarianitæ as they were called, viz. that they laid down their view of the matter as a doctrine of Scripture, and one that ought to be held, when in fact the point was not determined by adequate authority on either side; though after the controversy had arisen, and the majority of great names were enlisted in favour of the perpetual virginity, as that which was conceived to be most honourable to the mother of our Lord, then the name heretic began to be freely applied to those who did not positively maintain that doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

πολον δὲ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν αἰρετώτερον, τὸ παραδοῦναι τὰ πράγματα Θεῷ, ἢ βιάζεσθαι ἡμῖν τὰ χεῖρονα; "Οτι μὲν οὐκ ἐγράφη ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωμεν, ὅτι συνήφθη πάλιν ἡ Μαρία, οὐκ ἔχομεν ζῶν αἰώνιον, ἀλλὰ εἰς κρίμα ἐρχόμεθα, δῆλον . . . Ἐῴασαν δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ περὶ πίστεως ἀληθείας, τὰ ἐν δοξολογίᾳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅθεν δὲ ἂν εὐρωσιν ἑαυτοῖς προσπορίζονται πρὸς βλάβην· φεῦ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, μάλιστα τῆς γραφῆς μὴ λεγούσης. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ἡ γραφή, ἀπεδιδόμεν ἂν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐδὲν διανοούμεθα· μὴ γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἄσμενος· μὴ βέβηλος ἡ κόιτη μὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κόιτη ἁμίαντος; [Heb. xiii. 4.] EPIPH. Adv. hæc. in hæc. 78. Antidic. §§ 15, 16. Op. tom. i. p. 1047.

<sup>1</sup> Before we pass from the testimony of Epiphanius, I would direct the attention of the reader to a remarkable passage in this part of his book (as connected with the controversy with the Romanists) against a sect small at that time, that offered sacrifice to the Virgin, and paid her divine honours. "In them," says Epiphanius, "is that fulfilled, Some shall depart from sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of devils; [1 Tim. iv. 1.] for they shall be, saith he, [i. e. doubtless the Apostle,] *worshippers of the dead*, as they [i. e. the dead] were worshipped by the Israelites; and *the glory that resulted to God from the saints in their time hath become to others who see not the truth an occasion of error*." (πληροῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ, ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς ὑγιούς διδασκαλίας, προσέχοντες μύθοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων· ἔσονται γὰρ, φησί, νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβάσθησαν. καὶ ἡ τῶν ἁγίων κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς Θεὸν δόξα ἄλλοις γέγονε τοῖς μὴ ὁρώσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰς πλάνην.) EPIPHAN. ib. § 23. p. 1055. I am quite aware of the nice distinctions drawn by the Romanists on this subject, and how they defend



Moreover, that Jerome's belief of this doctrine was founded, not upon Tradition, but upon Scripture, is evident; for, in the beginning of his Treatise against Helvidius, he says, "The very words of the Scriptures are to be adduced; he must be refuted by the very testimonies he has used against us."<sup>1</sup> And towards the end he says, "But as we do not deny these things which are written, so we reject those things which are *not written*. We believe that God was born of a Virgin, because we read it; that Mary married after the birth, we believe not, *because we read it not*."<sup>2</sup>

If, then, according to the Romanists and our opponents, this doctrine relies only on "Tradition," we reply with Jerome, We believe it not, i. e. do not make it a point to be believed, because we read it not.

And here it is worth observing, how the ground for belief in this doctrine has been shifted. The Fathers who defend it, place it upon the testimony of Scripture, and arguments drawn from the supposed proprieties of the case. Our opponents, with the Romanists, seeing that nothing of the kind can be proved from Scripture, fall back upon "Tradition," and quote the testimony of these very Fathers who appeal to Scripture for the proof of it, as evidence of its being a doctrine established by an uninterrupted tradition of the Church!

Mr. Newman tells us, that several of our divines have held the doctrine. Perhaps so; but there are others who have not, as, for instance, Bishop Stillingfleet, as we have just seen. I believe it to be a point in which many, feeling its utter insignificance, have been disposed rather at once to acquiesce, than search out the evidence for it, and make it a matter of discussion. Besides, it must stand upon the evidence that themselves, but this is not the place to discuss them. I shall only say, Let those who like be deceived by them.

<sup>1</sup> "Ipsa Scripturarum verba ponenda sunt; ipsis quibus adversum nos usus est testimoniis revincatur." HIERON. Adv. Helvid. § 2. Op. tom. ii. col. 206. See also GENNAD. De vir. illustr. c. 32.

<sup>2</sup> "Sed ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus. Natum Deum esse de Virgine credimus, quia legimus; Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus." Id. ib. § 19. col. 226, 227.

can be brought for it, and not upon names. Our learned Bishop Taylor tells us, that “the *universal* practice and doctrine of the Church of God in *all* ages and in *all* Churches “primitive, is infinitely evident and notorious,” for “the “observation of *the Lord’s day* solemnly once a year, i. e. “the feast of Easter.”<sup>1</sup> Are we consequently obliged to believe this, contrary to the evidence we have of the learned prelate’s mistake as to the day on which the feast was observed?

We shall perhaps be told, that Councils have determined this point. I reply, that this is the very best proof that could be given, though far from being the only one, that Councils have not always determined things by the consentient testimony of preceding ages, but according to their private views, or the views of the majority of the age in the matter. And whatever weight it may be expedient and right to give to a Council in a point affecting the rites and ceremonies of the Church, the *utmost* that can be demanded for it in any point of belief not in Scripture is silence. It has no power to require belief in its dicta, except such as are founded upon direct Scripture-authority, especially in a matter in which those who lived at an earlier period were evidently divided in opinion.

True it is, as we have admitted, that the name *heretic* has been applied by some of the Fathers, as Epiphanius and Augustine,<sup>2</sup> to those who held the opposite of the doctrine in question.

But are we, therefore, bound to rank all such as heretics, or to make this doctrine an article of faith or religion? On the same ground, then, we must go a step further, and maintain, as a matter of religious belief, that even the birth of our Saviour left Mary as much a virgin in structure as before, for Augustine expressly speaks of this as a point of Catholic belief,<sup>3</sup> and ranks Jovinian among the heretics for denying

<sup>1</sup> See the quotation from him in Keble’s Serm. App. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See EPIPHAN. as already quoted, and AUGUST. Adv. hæc. ; hæc. 84. Helvid. Op. tom. viii. col. 24. The work “De eccles. dogmatibus,” sometimes quoted on this subject, is not his, but probably, as the Benedictines think, written by Gennadius.

<sup>3</sup> “Maria virgo ante conceptum, virgo post partum . . . Cur qui potuit per

it.<sup>1</sup> And there can be no doubt that, *strictly speaking*, this is a necessary part of the doctrine of her perpetual virginity,<sup>2</sup> though not perhaps always included in it by those who profess to support it.

And this part of the doctrine in question affords us so curious and useful an example of the way in which such matters gradually advanced, until at last, being vouched for by some men of great name as part of the creed of "the Church," they took their place as important dogmas, which it was *heresy* to call in question, that we will endeavour briefly to trace its progress.

The testimony of Tertullian<sup>3</sup> is, as on the former point, clearly opposed to the notion. His words are too clear to be explained away.

Next, comes Clement of Alexandria, who tells us, that "most (*οἱ πολλοὶ*) even to that time, as it appeared, thought that "Mary was a woman such as women are after child-bearing on "account of the birth of her son, though she was not such; for "some said, that, being inspected by a midwife after she had

clausa ostia magnus intrare, non potuit etiam per incorrupta membra parvus exire? Sed neque hoc neque illud volunt credere increduli. Ideo potius fides utrumque credit . . . . Si fides Deum natum credit in carne, Deo non dubitat utrumque possibile; ut et corpus majoris ætatis non reserato aditu domus intus positus præsentaret, et sponsus infans de thalamo suo, hoc est utero virginali, illæsa matris virginitate procederet." AUGUST. Serm. 191. In Nat. Dom. 8. Op. tom. v. col. 894. See also Serm. 186, ib. col. 884.

<sup>1</sup> "Virginitatem Mariæ destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam." AUGUST. Lib. de hæres. c. 82. tom. viii. col. 24. And see AUGUST. De Nupt. et Concup. lib. ii. c. 5. tom. x. col. 308, 9; and his Cont. Julian. Pelag. lib. i. c. 2. tom. x. col. 499.

<sup>2</sup> "Ὡς ἀειπαρθένος ἐστὶν καὶ ἐσσεὶ καὶ δiceretur, necesse fuit, virgo ut conciperet, virgo ut pareret, virgo ut semper permaneret." MONTACUT. Appar. ix. § 59. ed. Oxon. 1635. p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> "Virgo quantum a viro, non virgo quantum a partu . . . si virgo concepit, in partu suo nupsit, ipsa patefacti corporis lege . . . . Quis proprie vulvam adaperuit quam qui clausam patefecit? cæterum [cæteris?] omnibus nuptiæ patefaciunt. Itaque magis patefacta est, quia magis erat clausa . . . Et quid ultra de hoc retractandum est, cum hac ratione Apostolus non ex virgine sed ex muliere editum filium Dei pronuntiavit: agnovit adaptatæ vulvæ nuptialem passionem." TERTULL. De carne Christi, c. 23. Op. p. 324. See also the same treatise, cc. 4 and 20; and Adv. Marc. lib. iii. c. 11. lib. iv. c. 21. and lib. 5. c. 19.



"brought forth, she was found a virgin."<sup>1</sup> It is said by Petavius, that this is derived from a story given in the apocryphal book called the *Protevangelium* of James, and he regrets that Clement should have given it any countenance.<sup>2</sup> If it was so, it is not merely an apocryphal dream, but altogether a mistake in Clement, for the story in the apocryphal book mentioned is merely that the midwife called in by Joseph at her delivery found her a virgin *before* the birth.<sup>3</sup>

From this passage of Clement, then, it clearly appears, that the notion then *prevalent* on the subject was entirely *opposed* to the doctrine in question.

Proceed we to Origen. From his words, which will be found in a note below,<sup>4</sup> it is clear, that he had not embraced the doctrine in question.

Nay, we may come down so low as the time of Epiphanius, and find that it was not yet made a doctrine of the Church, for Epiphanius is against it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'ΑΛΛ', ὡς ἔοικεν, τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαρίαμ λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γένεσιν, οὐκ οὔσα λεχῶ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν, φασὶ τινες παρθένον εὐρεθῆναι. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. vii. pp. 889, 890. ed. Potter. (p. 756. ed. Sylb.)

<sup>2</sup> PETAV. De incarn. 1. 14. c. 6. §. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Protevangel. Jacobi, §§ 19, 20. in FABRICII Cod. Apocr. N. T. vol. i. pp. 107 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Quemcunque de utero effusum marem dixeris, non sic aperit vulvam matris suæ ut Dominus Jesus : quia omnium mulierum non partus infantis sed viri coitus vulvam reserat. Matris vero Domini eo tempore vulva reserata est, quo et partus editus, quia sanctum uterum et omni dignatione venerationis venerandum ante nativitatem Christi masculus omnino non tetigit. ORIG. In Luc. hom. 14. Op. tom. iii. p. 948.

<sup>5</sup> Οὗτος ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἀνοίγων μήτραν μητρός. Πάντες γὰρ ὅσοι ἐγεννήθησαν πρωτότοκοι, ἵνα καὶ σεμνότερον εἴπωμεν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν τοῦτο πληροῦν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος ὁ μονογενὴς μήτραν παρθένον ἀνοίξας, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μόνῳ τετελεῖται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενί. EPIPHAN. Adv. Hær. hæ. 78. Antidic. § 19. Op. tom. i. p. 1051. Others have quoted Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, Basil, and others, as having taken the same view, from their having spoken of Christ as having opened his mother's womb, according to Luke ii. 23, but though *we* may possibly regard the passage in Luke in that light, it is very possible that these Fathers might (according to the explanation given by Thomas Aquinas, Summ. Theol. P. 3. q. 28. a. 2.) only use the words with reference to his proceeding



But, proceeding a little lower, we all at once find the denial of it manufactured into a *heresy*, and hear Ambrose<sup>1</sup> and Augustine<sup>2</sup> positively pronouncing it a part of the faith of the Church, and denouncing those who did not receive it as heretics; for, this was the principal charge against Jovinian and his followers.

But here, as in the former case, the attempt is made to defend the doctrine by Scripture, and by arguments the feebleness of which is evidently acknowledged by those who tell us that it is only from "Tradition" that we can obtain it.

In the next century, however, it is fully installed by Gennadius among "the doctrines of the Church," and as one about which not a doubt is to be admitted, and which it is "*blasphemy*" to call in question.<sup>3</sup>

And to give the reader another specimen of Gennadius's "doctrines of the Church," we may add, that the doctrine which next precedes this in his list is as follows:—"To equal "the married state with virginity vowed to God, or to believe "that no merit accrues to those who abstain from wine or "flesh for the sake of mortifying the body, this is not the "characteristic of a Christian, but of Jovinian."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, between the times of Clement of Alexandria and

from the womb; and I am the rather inclined to think this to be the case, because Ambrose, who speaks thus, is, as we shall see, clearly opposed to the idea of the virginity of Mary having at all suffered in parturition.

<sup>1</sup> See his Letter to Pope Syricius. Epist. 42. (al. Epist. 7.) Op. ed. Ben. tom. ii. col. 966 et seq. Thus also he speaks elsewhere;—"Porta igitur Maria, per quam Christus intravit in hunc mundum, quando virginali fusus est partu, et genitalia virginitatis claustra non solvit. Mansit intemeratum septum pudoris, et inviolata integritatis duravere signacula; cum exiret ex Virgine, cujus altitudinem mundus sustinere non posset. AMBROS. De instit. virg. c. 8. Op. ed. Ben. tom. ii. col. 262.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 431, 432 above.

<sup>3</sup> "Integra fide credendum est, beatam Mariam Dei Christi matrem et virginem concepisse, et virginem genuisse, et post partum virginem permansisse. Nec est blasphemie Helvidii adquiescendum, qui dixit, Virgo ante partum, non virgo post partum." GENNAD. De eccles. dogmat. c. 36. Inter Op. Augustini, tom. viii. App. col. 79.

<sup>4</sup> "Sacratæ Deo virginitati nuptias cœquare, aut pro amore castigandi corporis abstinentibus a vino vel carnibus nihil credere meriti accrescere, nec hoc Christiani sed Joviniani est." Id. ib. c. 35.

Augustine, there was a complete revolution in opinion respecting this matter; for, at the former period, no one dreamed of making it a point of importance, and the majority did not receive it, while at the latter it was *heresy* to doubt it. Woe to the "*blasphemer*" who presumed not to believe it.

Alas! that they whose great names had such influence in the Church, instead of adding fuel to the fire of such an unprofitable controversy, imitating their opponents in making their own private views points of faith, should not rather have silenced it altogether, as a vain and idle dispute about a matter with which religion had no concern. Yes, may we not regret with Epiphanius, that men should "turn aside from necessary points, those that concern the truth of the faith, and those that tend to the glory of God, to heap to themselves things that tend to their hurt, from *every quarter in which* they can find them." "Alas," we say with him, "that the matter should be agitated, particularly when the Scripture [as our opponents admit] does not speak of it. For if the Scripture had mentioned it, we should have embraced the truth without hesitation;" but we add, in the words of Jerome, "we make it not a point of belief, because we *read it not*."

The reader may, perhaps, think, that we have dwelt upon this matter too long. But as our opponents have put it forward as a point of importance, and as it is one remarkably illustrative of our subject, we were desirous of placing its history clearly before him, heartily as we could have wished, for the honour of the Church of Christ, that such a matter had never been the subject of discussion among its members.

The reply given by a Tractarian Reviewer to the preceding remarks on the alleged perpetual virginity of the Mother of our Lord (which stand as they did in the first edition) is so characteristic, and so remarkably illustrative of the ground since taken by Mr. Newman and others on the whole subject, that it may be worth while to offer a few remarks upon it before I pass on.

My reviewer, after intimating, that great truths "are carried forward but slowly and by degrees to their full bearing," and comparing their progress to that of a "small

seed," which, "small and almost imperceptible, grows and expands without human cognizance, and *ends not begins* by banishing all rival claimants from the space it is destined to occupy," proceeds thus:—"It may well be then, as Mr. Goode has pointed out, that the fifth century was far more decided and interested than the second in the defence of St. Mary's perpetual virginity, and may yet have been altogether right in such increased love of the doctrine. Such love may well have been the natural and legitimate development of principles taught by the Apostles, (e. g. *the blessedness of celibacy, the sacramental efficacy of proximity to our Lord*, the unspeakable dignity to which human nature is raised by the Incarnation, &c. &c.) and St. Augustine may have been most pious and wisely zealous in denouncing those as *heretics*, who did not receive a statement which the *orthodox* BY THAT TIME HAD DISCOVERED TO HAVE BEEN EVER MORALLY INVOLVED IN THE PRINCIPLES THEY HELD FROM THE FIRST."<sup>1</sup>

So that it took "the orthodox" *four centuries* to discover that the perpetual virginity of the Mother of our Lord was "morally involved in the principles held from the first;" and their "love" for this doctrine, though "the natural and legitimate development of principles taught by the Apostles," was not excited till more than four centuries after the Apostles had taught those principles. Such is the way in which the evidence *against* this notion (to call it "doctrine" is an obvious misnomer) in the earlier Fathers is attempted to be answered, and a simple question of fact turned into a doctrinal development (reaching its maturity only in the fifth century) of principles taught by the Apostles!

We may also observe in this passage, as well as in various other parts of the Review, that the doctrine of development, since advocated in a special treatise by Mr. Newman, had then begun to be resorted to for the defence of the Tractarian cause. What may have led to the adoption of a principle so

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Crit. for July, 1842. pp. 92, 93. The capitals at the close of the quotation are mine.



completely at variance with the views originally propounded by them (as I have already shown)<sup>1</sup> it is impossible to say; but as this Review was certainly *among* the earliest of their publications that formally took that ground, we can hardly be far wrong in supposing, that the proofs given of the complete invalidity of such an appeal as they had made to Patristical Tradition had by that time shown them the untenableness of the ground they were occupying.

And the mode in which doctrines are evolved and established by this process of development appears to me to receive a very curious and important illustration in this example. For we here see, that it is in full accordance with this principle of development, that even a matter of fact, the truth of which could not be known but by the testimony of the Apostolic age, may be even denied by some of the earliest Fathers, and admitted by others to be a matter of uncertainty and unimportance, and not vouched for by any; and yet a judgment of some Fathers of the fifth century in its favour, and constituting it a doctrine of importance, shall stamp it with the seal of a truth which it is *heresy* to deny. It is pronounced to be a legitimate development of principles taught by the Apostles. And the principles so taught are, we are told, such as "the blessedness of celibacy, the sacramental efficacy of proximity to our Lord," &c. Where these principles are taught by the Apostles, is not stated; and I cannot but think our opponents, if pressed upon the point, would be compelled to admit, that these very "principles," out of which the matter in question was "developed" in the fifth century, were themselves Patristical developments of some *very* "small and almost [?quite] imperceptible" seeds of Apostolical teaching.

Before I conclude this chapter, there are two objections, often urged by the Romanists in proof of the *imperfection* of Scripture, unfitting it to be the sole Rule of faith, which I will anticipate.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 434—441.



One is an argument which I have already noticed in a former part of this work,<sup>1</sup> but which so directly affects the point discussed in this chapter, that it is necessary briefly to advert to it. It is objected, that, according to our system, our Rule of faith is not the same as that of the primitive Christians, for that they must have had information from the Apostles which we, by discarding "Tradition," are rejecting.

I reply, that in one sense our Rule of faith is the same, viz. the whole of that which we have good reason for acknowledging as divine revelation; and that, in the sense in which it is not the same, namely, in actual extent, *that of our opponents is also not the same*; for, to give an example, St. Paul tells the Thessalonians, that he had informed them what it was that withheld the appearance of the man of sin, but the Romanists themselves will not pretend to say, that Church-tradition has delivered this down to *us*. And there are many other things about which we are equally in the dark, respecting which, nevertheless, we can have little doubt, that the first Christians received some information from the Apostles.

And a similar answer holds good with respect to another objection.

It is sometimes said, that Scripture cannot be the entire Rule of faith, because some inspired books have perished.

To this, indeed, we reply, first, that we deny the fact, and challenge those who maintain it to give any proof, that any books ever held to be *part of the canon of Scripture* have perished.<sup>2</sup>

But even if it were so, this does not alter the state of the case. It does not prove, that Patristical Tradition is a divine informant, or an infallible record of Apostolical teaching. It in fact leaves us precisely where it found us; even in possession of that divine record of revealed truth which God has seen fit, in his infinite mercy, to *preserve* to us.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 66 above.

<sup>2</sup> This is an objection of Bellarmine, to whose remarks we may find a reply in one of his own communion, viz. Stapleton. See STAPLETON. *De Princip.* lib. ix. c. 5; and, *De auct. Script.* adv. Whitak. lib. ii. c. 1. § 7.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TO TEACH  
MANKIND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

AMONG the various objections brought against the views for which we here contend, it is urged, that Scripture is too *obscure* to be able to sustain the character we attribute to it, for that, even in the fundamental points of faith and practice, it needs an interpreter to point out its meaning; and that in "Tradition" we have such an interpreter, and one "practically infallible," demanding our faith as a witness of the oral teaching of the Apostles.<sup>1</sup>

Now, that we have *not* in Tradition any certain witness of the oral teaching of the Apostles, nor (in whatever light it be viewed) a divine or practically infallible interpreter of Scripture, has been, I hope, already proved; and consequently it follows, (as far as our opponents' views are concerned,) that Holy Scripture is our only divine and infallible Teacher. Whatever obscurity, then, there may be in the revelation there made to us of the Christian religion, it is the only revelation of it we possess. Whatever difficulties or obscurities may have been left by God in the Scriptures, there is no authoritative interpretation of them demanding our belief. He who is plain beyond that which is written, goes beyond his authority, i. e. beyond that for which divine inspiration can be *claimed*. And consequently the argument against Scripture being our sole Rule of faith, derived from its alleged *obscurity*, falls to the ground.

Moreover, Scripture being our only inspired Teacher, and

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 37.

containing all which has any claim upon our belief as a divine revelation, it seems but *reasonable* to conclude, that nothing can be a fundamental point of faith or practice which is not *plainly* revealed therein. For, if Scripture is our sole divine informant, and was written for the instruction of men generally, it seems far from consistent with the gift of such a Rule of faith, that it should be so obscure in the very fundamental points as to oblige us to depend upon human teachers to know what it means. And if, through carelessness, indifference, prejudice, or any other cause, men remain blind to what is there plainly delivered, such perverseness is easily accounted for, and forms no ground for accusing the word of God of obscurity.

On these arguments, however, I shall not dwell further, because it is my purpose here to meet this charge of *obscurity* with a direct *negative*, and to show the sufficiency of Scripture to teach the faith, *independently of what has preceded this chapter*.

In so doing, I shall first offer a few preliminary observations, to guard against misconception, and show what it is for which we here contend, and then proceed to prove the three following points.

I. That all the *fundamental* and *essential* points of faith and practice are clearly and plainly delivered in the Scriptures.

II. That *all* the doctrines of the Christian faith are *as* plainly delivered there as, *to our knowledge*, they are *revealed*.

III. That the best and only infallible expositor of Scripture is Scripture.

To guard against misconception, I shall offer, in the first place, a few preliminary observations, to make it more clear to the reader what it is for which we contend.

And here I would observe first, that when we speak of all the essential doctrines of Christianity being clearly revealed to us in the Scriptures, we are not affirming that the truths themselves so revealed are cleared from all mysteriousness, and made obvious to the understandings of men, for many of them are, and ever will be, to our finite understandings,

mysterious and obscure ; but, that they are plainly, openly, and undeniably delivered there, that is, that the sacred writers have delivered, in the plainest terms, the revelations of divine truth vouchsafed to them, and consequently, that all which God purposed to reveal to the world by them is so expressed, that not even the Apostles themselves could declare it more clearly.

I would instance this in the very case to which our opponents, following the Romanists, point us as supplying an argument in their favour, viz. the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Not to insist here upon a point which will come under consideration more properly elsewhere, viz. that the Nicene Fathers deduced this doctrine altogether from Scripture, I would ask, whether this doctrine is not much *more plainly* delivered in Scripture than in that document to which our opponents refer us for it, viz. the Nicene Creed. The expression there used, though perhaps the best that could be found, so imperfectly expresses the doctrine, as to have been absolutely rejected by the orthodox at the Council of Antioch, against Paul of Samosata, as an unorthodox phrase ; and it is evidently *open* to an unorthodox interpretation, which Scripture, *taken as a whole, and compared with itself*, is not. It is an orthodox term, rightly understood ; convenient it may be for a compendious statement of the truth in a Confession of faith ; but it is not equivalent to the exposition of the doctrine contained in Scripture. The true doctrine is not so clearly, plainly, and unambiguously expressed by it as it is in Scripture, taken as a whole.

We do not, then, here deny, but, on the contrary, affirm, that many of the truths delivered in the Scriptures are mysterious and obscure, and beyond the power of man fully to comprehend ; and this is the great reason why, with minds naturally disinclined to them, men are unwilling to receive them as they are revealed, however plainly revealed.

Nor do we deny, that there are many points among *non-essentials*, not so plainly delivered, but that men may reasonably be divided in opinion as to the precise doctrine delivered ; and



such points, perhaps, were not intended to be made known to all.

Nor, further, do we deny, that some particular passages may be very obscure.

But all such obscurity is quite consistent with that for which we are here contending. Nay, it has been said, not without reason, by some, that God has purposely ordered it thus, that while the fundamentals of the faith should be so clear that no sincere and earnest inquirer could mistake in them, there should also be what might serve to exercise the industry and mental powers of man, and carry out his mind to the contemplation of spiritual and heavenly objects.

Moreover, we are not here asserting, that it is sufficient to put the Scriptures into the hands of children and men wholly illiterate, and leave them to deduce the faith from them. But this arises not from their obscurity; nor does it show the necessity of an infallible interpreter; but only the need of *literary* assistance to inform such persons of the meaning of the expressions used, and point out to them what, through the imperfect development of their faculties, they might have misunderstood or passed unnoticed. It is not Tradition which they want, but a knowledge of the meaning of the words used in Scripture. And such deficiency of information on their part, cannot be justly urged in proof of Scripture being obscure; and still less of the necessity of Tradition or the Church, *as the Church*, to explain it. And the truth is, that so far as the mind is able to receive the faith, it needs but little education to enable a man to learn from Scripture the fundamentals of the faith.

Further, when we contend for the sufficiency of Scripture to teach the faith, we must be understood as speaking only with reference to the humble-minded and unprejudiced student of Scripture. To the proud and self-sufficient reasoner, to him who comes with all the prejudices of the natural mind clouding his perceptions, or with some preconceived views, *derived from whatever source*, to *confirm*, the declarations of Scripture may be anything but plain. But they may be obscure to such,

merely because the mind is unwilling to receive them in their obvious meaning; and they may, consequently, have divers meanings given to them, merely because the prejudices of their readers are of divers kinds. We have heard of the Scriptures being quoted in support of sedition, rebellion, immorality. Are we to suppose that they are obscure on those points? that it is *doubtful* whether they discountenance such practices or not? If men go to the Scriptures with minds in any way prejudiced, and not simply to be taught the truth, but only to confirm their own preconceived notions, derived from other sources,—as our opponents openly profess, and exhort others, to do,—they will, no doubt, find Scripture sufficiently obscure. A person going to the Scriptures to *confirm* some preconceived notions about justification, gathered from what he calls “Tradition,” may find many passages very difficult to deal with. For, if a man has made up his mind that two and two make five, a plain declaration that two and two make four, is the most difficult passage he could have to deal with.

And if it be said, that “Tradition” is necessary on account of the prejudices of men casting a veil over the meaning of Scripture, as Mr. Newman has strangely enough argued, then I would ask, whether the same prejudices will not distort the testimony of “Tradition” in the same way? For, if the ground for the supposed obscurity of Scripture be in the unwillingness of the mind to embrace the truth, then the same reason will cause Tradition also to appear obscure. And this is borne out by the testimony of facts; for, as we have already seen, there has hardly been a heresy in the Church in any age, but that the Fathers have been quoted in defence of it; and Mr. Newman himself<sup>1</sup> (as we have seen<sup>2</sup>) admits, that, with prejudiced minds, Antiquity “admits of easy evasion, and may be made to conclude anything or nothing;” thereby answering his own argument. And when we recollect, in how great a variety of expression that Tradition appears, and the imperfection of its mode of conveyance, surely the prejudices of men are still more likely to lead them astray in such a wide field of

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 141 above.

inquiry as the wilderness of the Fathers, than in the well-ordered garden of God's Holy Scriptures.

The truth is, that there is but one way in which such prejudices can be removed ; and that is, by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon men, enlightening the mind, so as to enable it to perceive the truth ; and influencing the heart to receive it in the love of it. As long as the mind is blinded, and the heart hardened by sin and Satan, the truths of God's word, however clear, are in vain clear, as far as such a one is concerned. The light shines upon blindness, and the blind comprehends it not. He gropes in the noonday, as at night.

Lastly, we do not deny, that there are different degrees of light and knowledge enjoyed by different individuals ; and that a good use of the helps we have for the understanding of Scripture, may and will, with God's blessing, increase our insight into the plain truths of Scripture. There is a depth in them which will reward the most diligent search ; and while Scripture is the best interpreter of itself, the labours of others in search of truth may here, as in other cases, *shorten* ours. But this does not affect our position, which is, That Holy Scripture is amply sufficient *in itself* to every diligent and humble-minded student of it, to teach all the fundamentals of faith and practice ; and consequently to refute all heretical notions respecting them.

"*That the Holy Scripture,*" says a bishop of our Church, in a tract reprinted by Bishop Gibson, in his Preservative against Popery, "is so plain in all things necessary to salvation, that "it may be rightly understood or interpreted, by any man of "sound judgment, is a proposition which *one would imagine "should not be questioned by any Christian . . . .* If the "Scripture be sufficient to bring every man to eternal happiness, then every man may understand it, so far as it is "necessary for the attainment of that end. OF THIS THERE "IS NO CONTROVERSY AMONG PROTESTANTS."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Protestant and Popish way of interpreting Scripture impartially compared, in answer to Pax vobis. Lond. 1689. 4to. pp. 34, 35. This tract is by some attributed to Archbishop Tenison ; but, by Bishop Gibson, to Dr. Grove, Bishop of Chichester.



I now pass on to the consideration of the three points I have mentioned above.

I. That all the fundamental and essential points of faith and practice are clearly and plainly delivered in the Scriptures ; and consequently that the Scriptures are well adapted and amply sufficient to *teach* men all such points.

I am well aware, that some ingenious controversialists, when hard pressed by the arguments of their opponents, have maintained *in words* the former of these two propositions, while denying the truth of the latter ; meaning, as they explain themselves, that such truths are clearly and plainly delivered in the Scriptures *to those who know them before* ; just (we may add) as the meaning of any mysterious heathen orgies is clear and plain to those to whom the priest has communicated the key ; but notwithstanding this, I must venture to think, that the latter of these two propositions is the necessary consequence of the former ; and that to adopt the former *in words*, and deny the latter, is but self-contradiction or equivocation. For, if the truth is plain in Scripture, after "Tradition" has pointed it out, was it not plain there before ? The testimony of Tradition may make a man more ready to receive it ; but it cannot affect the degree of plainness with which it is delivered in the Scriptures. No doubt, if a man has made up his mind that Scripture must mean whatever such and such interpreters of Scripture say that it means, he is in the mood to think that Scripture plainly has that meaning. But with others the case is different.

Now the truth of what we here affirm depends, principally, upon the *style* in which the Scriptures are written ; i. e. whether they deliver the truths which are intended for the instruction of mankind at large, under the veil of an obscure phraseology, or so as to be generally understood ; for it is *not denied*, that the Scriptures *contain* all the fundamental and essential doctrines of Christianity. We maintain, then, that what was intended to be understood by all, is expressed in the Scriptures so as to be understood by all. The divine revelation vouchsafed to mankind, is conveyed to us in the



Scriptures as clearly and plainly, *as far as that revelation goes*, as human language will permit.

This aptitude of Scripture to teach the doctrines of religion appears,

*First*, from the testimony of Scripture.

"Whatsoever things," saith the Apostle, "were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we, through *patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.*" (Rom. xv. 4.) Here we are taught, what is the great object for which the Scriptures were written, and the purpose they answer to the Christian. True; this applies only to the Old Testament Scriptures; but if such was *their* object, such the end *they* answered, then certainly the plainer records of the New Testament are much better calculated to answer the same purpose. Are we, then, to suppose, that the whole of the New Testament united with the Old, is insufficient to make us acquainted with the essentials of the Christian religion? The point to which I particularly desire the attention of the reader in this passage is, that the Scriptures themselves, not any exposition of them, not any ecclesiastical teaching of any kind, are here referred to as the source of comfort and hope to the Christian; the teacher, from whose instructions he derives his hopes; while, on the contrary, our opponents tell us, that it is only the teaching of "the Church" that can make us wise unto salvation.

Still stronger evidence in our favour is to be found in our Lord's exhortation to the Jews, "*Search the Scriptures . . . they are they which testify of me.*" (John v. 39.) It is undeniable, that these words were addressed to *the people generally*; and they are here exhorted to examine for themselves the evidence afforded by the Old Testament Scriptures to our Lord's character and mission, as evidence amply sufficient to guide them to a knowledge of the truth; and to follow the leadings of that evidence, whatever their *Church-guides*, the Scribes and Pharisees, might say to the contrary. From which we may observe two things,—both that the Scriptures are written so as to teach mankind in general, and also that un-

belief and ignorance of the truths they reveal, and a perversion of their meaning, may arise from a very different cause from their being unintelligible without an interpreter. It is evident that our Lord only considered it to be necessary that the Scriptures should be "*searched*," should be diligently read and investigated, in order to their reception of him in his true character as the Saviour of mankind; while at the same time we find, that the great majority of those who professed a familiar acquaintance with those Scriptures, perverted their meaning, and would not receive them in their true sense. And, let me ask, which, to all appearance, at that time, was the sense affixed to those Scriptures by "the Church?" What follower of "the Church," as his interpreter of Scripture, would have come to the conclusion, that he was to leave the whole body of Scribes and Pharisees to follow Simon and Anna? No; it was only the humble student of "the Scriptures," under the guidance of that Holy Spirit who is ever present to the prayer of the faithful, who was likely to arrive at a knowledge of the truth.

It is no reply to say, that this argument proves too much, for that it would prove that the Old Testament Scriptures are sufficient without the New. It proves only, that the Old Testament Scriptures expressed with sufficient plainness the truths they did reveal, to be understood by all who studied them; and this is all for which we adduce it; except to remark, that we have here the highest sanction, whoever we be, to our placing the written word infinitely above every other guide, and walking according to what shall appear to us, after a diligent investigation, to be its true meaning.

I will cite but one passage more, which shall be the remarkable testimony of St. Paul to the value of the Old Testament Scriptures, in his Second Epistle to Timothy. "From a child," he says, "thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, *which are* "*able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is* "*in Christ Jesus.* All Scripture is given by inspiration of "God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God

"may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. iii. 15—17.) Is it possible, that any man, with this passage before him, will venture to say, that the Scriptures are not calculated, and were not intended, to *teach* mankind in general; but are written so as that they need an interpreter before they can be understood? I do not here quote this passage, be it observed, as showing *how much*, whether more or less, is contained in the Scriptures, because it refers to the Scriptures of the Old Testament; but I refer to it, as showing the *purposes* of Scripture, "all Scripture," that it was intended to make the man of God perfect, and thoroughly to furnish him to all good works; in other words, to be, what our opponents deny that it was intended to be, his great *teacher* and instructor.

And hence, if Scripture *contains* all the fundamental and essential doctrines of religion, all those truths which were intended to be understood by all, then it follows, from the mode of writing adopted by the sacred penmen, that all those truths are delivered as clearly and plainly as they are intended to be understood.

Against this line of argument is sometimes urged the case of the Ethiopian eunuch,—who, when reading the prophet Isaiah, and being questioned by Philip whether he understood what he read, replied, "How can I, except some man should teach me?"—but to no purpose. For, we do not assert, that the truths of Christianity can be learnt from the Old Testament Scriptures alone. It is sufficient for our purpose, that those Scriptures were a sufficiently clear revelation of what was necessary truth to those who lived under them. This is all which we assert, or want for our argument. That they were written in a phraseology calculated to veil the truth to a certain extent before our Lord's appearance, is perfectly true. But I would ask, *Was "the Church" able to remove that veil?* Did it see through that veil, when our Lord appeared in strict accordance with the declarations of those Scriptures, yea in such strict accordance, that he sent the people to those Scriptures to learn from them the truth which "the Church" was



denying? The phraseology, then, was as plain as the revelation was intended to be, and this is all for which we contend for any part of Scripture. But thus much we maintain in behalf of all Scripture.

The same remarks apply to another passage sometimes objected to us, viz. Luke xxiv. 45. "Then opened he their understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures." The Scriptures here referred to are, as it appears by the context, those relating to Christ; and there was a degree of obscurity in the declarations of the Old Testament respecting the incarnation and sufferings of Christ, which the event only could clear up. Our Lord, therefore, might well explain to his disciples the precise way in which they were to be accomplished, and show them how accurately they had been fulfilled in himself. And what our Lord did, was, to "open their understandings," which were blinded by prejudice and unbelief, that they might receive that which, in the prophecy connected with the accomplishment, was plainly set before them. In a word, he removed the prejudices by which "their minds were blinded," and the "veil" which was "upon their hearts." (2 Cor. iii. 14, 15.) And, in the writings of the Apostles, our Lord has given us similar explanations, and will by his Spirit open in like manner the understandings of all sincere and penitent inquirers after the way of salvation, and remove the blindness and prejudices of the natural mind, and enable it to understand and receive those truths which are there so plainly set before it.

We are also met sometimes by the observation of St. Peter, that in the Epistles of St. Paul there are some things hard to be understood. (2 Pet. iii. 16.) But do we deny that such is the case? Far from it. But we say, that such things were *intended* by the Holy Spirit to be "hard to be understood," and that we must seek the meaning of them from that Holy Spirit himself; and with respect to them call no man or set of men master, i. e. *authoritative* teacher, upon earth.

And lastly, the passage is sometimes urged, in which St. Peter tells us, that "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any



private interpretation ;" (2 Pet. i. 20 ;) but most incorrectly, for the context shows, that the meaning is, that no prophecy of the Scripture proceeds from any private interpretation or declaration of God's will, for it is added, "for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." And so the Vulgate translates the passage, "The prophecy of Scripture is not made by private interpretation," (*propria interpretatione non fit*;) and Menochius, in his comment on the passage, allows that this is its meaning; and so does Cornelius a Lapide, though he attempts also to extract the other meaning from it, in order to make it support the Romish cause.

This suitability of Scripture to teach the Christian religion may be inferred—

*Secondly*, From the professed object of the sacred writers of the New Testament, which was, to teach all the great truths of the Gospel, without concealment or reserve.

This is fully proved by many passages of their writings. St. Luke wrote his Gospel in order, in the first instance, that Theophilus might "know the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed." (Luke i. 4.)

And St. Paul, when speaking of himself as a minister of the New Testament, says, "Seeing, then, that we have such hope, we use *great plainness of speech*, and not as Moses, who "put a veil over his face," &c. (2 Cor. iii. 12.) And again, a little further on, he says, — "By *manifestation* of the truth "commending ourselves to *every man's conscience* in the sight "of God;" (2 Cor. iv. 2;) a testimony remarkably forcible in proof of our position, that the Apostle always delivered the truths with which he was entrusted as clearly as language would permit, and so as to commend the instructor to *every man's conscience*, and thus teach *every man* the truth in the most forcible manner, and therefore certainly so expressed himself, when delivering those truths in his Epistles to the Churches. And he exhorts the brethren to pray for him, that "utterance might be given unto him, that he might open his

mouth *boldly*, to *make known* the mystery of the gospel." (Eph. vi. 19.)

If, then, the writings of this Apostle and his brethren *contain* all the essential truths of the Gospel, (as it is admitted they do,) surely men who felt thus, would take care, that in such documents more especially those truths should be *clearly and fully* expressed, to say nothing of that spiritual guidance under which those documents were penned.

It is impossible not to see, how totally opposed such statements as those we have referred to are to the views of the Romanists and the Tractators, whose representations would lead us to suppose, that the Bible is a sort of cabalistical book, the knowledge of whose meaning is confined to a certain order of men, ordained by succession from the Apostles. Such a notion, however, is suitable only to the priests of superstition and idolatry. Would that we might live to see the day when such doctrines were left in their sole possession! To them they are suitable enough, for false religion dreads the light, and hence their so called sacred books are most consistently veiled in the language of concealment and mystery. But it is not so with the word of God. All that God sees fit to reveal is, as far as it was intended to be known, stated clearly and plainly on all occasions by those whom he uses as instruments to deliver his word. And therefore certainly the fundamentals of religion are never obscurely stated in any Divine declaration respecting them.

The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to teach the Christian religion to mankind generally, may be inferred—

*Thirdly*, From the persons to whom the writings of the Apostles are addressed.

These writings, with but few exceptions, are not addressed to the pastors of the Church in particular. The Gospels were written for the instruction of Christians generally; and, in fact, of mankind at large; and were written in order to give them a full knowledge of the Christian faith. The Epistles are most of them expressly directed to *all* the individuals of the body of Christians to whom they are addressed. The

Epistle to the Romans is addressed to "*all* that are in Rome called to be saints." (Rom. i. 7.) And the First to the Corinthians is addressed to "the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called "to be saints, *with all that in every place* call upon the name "of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours;" (1 Cor. i. 2;) and to these persons the Apostle uses this language, "I speak as to wise men, *judge ye what I say;*" (1 Cor. x. 15;) "Judge in yourselves, is it comely," &c. (1 Cor. xi. 13.)<sup>1</sup> And the Apostles were anxious that their writings should be read by all; for St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, exhorts them to take care, that his Epistle be "read to *all* the holy brethren," (1 Thess. v. 27,) and commands the Colossians to cause his Epistle to them to be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that they should read the Epistle from Laodicea. (Col. iv. 16.)

Hence they are written so that *all* may learn the truths of which they speak, from them. They are written in a style adapted to the instruction of every, even the humblest, member of society. They address each individual as one who is responsible to God for receiving and obeying that which they have thus delivered.

True, the persons so addressed had some previous knowledge of the truths of Christianity; but this, in no respect, diminishes the force of the argument. For if any truths were passed over on this account, they would only be the most plain and simple; but these, it is conceded, are contained in Scripture. And in whatever matters the persons so addressed needed instruction, they needed it in the most plain and clear form, brought down to the comprehension of mankind in general. So that, in whatever point instruction is given by the Apostles, it seems evident, from the way in which they address themselves to all mankind, that such instruction must be given in the plainest and clearest form. If a man was addressing a miscellaneous body of professing Christians, including the humblest of mankind, and instructing them in the faith, he

<sup>1</sup> See also 1 Thess. v. 27. Phil. i. 1. &c.

would use language suited, as far as it went, to teach the faith to all mankind. Just so was it with the Apostles. They had, for the most part, simple and ignorant men to deal with, and they wrote so as to be understood by them.

The suitability of Scripture to teach the Christian religion, might also be inferred—

*Fourthly*, From the evident simplicity of the language of the New Testament.

This is a point in which our appeal lies to the common sense and observation of the reader. Can it be denied, that the statements of the New Testament are couched in terms the most simple, and phrases the most perspicuous, that the subject would admit of? Can it be denied, that, instead of any air of mystery or concealment being adopted with regard to all the great fundamental articles of the faith, there is, on the contrary, every appearance of an endeavour to state them in the most plain and intelligible manner? Nay, it is admitted by our adversaries, that such is the case; but with a reservation that makes their tenet self-contradictory, viz., that they are thus plain in Scripture *only* to those who have been taught them beforehand; that is, in fact, that Scripture does not plainly deliver them to all.

I ask, then, if Scripture contains all the fundamental articles of the faith, couched in the most plain and intelligible terms, how is it that it can be insufficient to *teach* those articles.

I must add, also, that the suitability of Scripture to teach the Christian religion, may be inferred—

*Fifthly*, From its actual effects.

Here, again, our appeal is to experience and fact; and many, I have no doubt, will be disposed at once to deny, that any argument can be deduced from this source, in favour of our position. Here, then, we are in a situation that renders it next to impossible to press the argument home upon the reader. Narratives of facts, such as those to which I am here alluding, generally carry little conviction to the mind of one prepossessed in favour of an opposite view. Such facts



must be witnessed, to convince the gainsayer. But I cannot omit a reference to them here, as bearing an important witness in favour of our position. It is an argument which it may not be easy to test ; because the cases are comparatively few, where a man has been left to gather his religious knowledge altogether from the Bible. But no man can have perused the accounts given from time to time of the proceedings of our religious Societies of late years, and not have been struck with the testimonies borne to the effects produced by the Scriptures alone.

However, I shall content myself here with having directed the attention of the reader to this argument, and would only request him not to form a hasty judgment from the effects produced by the careless and apathetic perusal given to the Scriptures by the generality, but from those produced by the earnest and sincere perusal of them by one who is really desirous of learning and following the truth, and is seriously asking the question, "What must I do to be saved?"

*Lastly*, I will not hesitate to add, fortified by the preceding evidences, that the suitability of Scripture to *teach* the Christian religion, may be inferred from the nature of its subject, compared with the revealed character of its Author.

Its subject is, *the way and means of man's salvation* ; the character of its Author, *one who willeth that salvation*. The very fact, then, of its being a revelation upon such a subject, from such a source, is of itself an evidence, that whatever is delivered in it, so far as it was intended by God that the revelation should extend, is well calculated to impart the knowledge which it was God's purpose to give. He who charges the word of God with obscurity in such matters as were intended by him to be revealed to man, either charges its Author with incompetency, or takes away from him that character in which he delights, by representing him as putting unnecessary difficulties in the way of the salvation of man.

And this would apply, doubtless, to whatever the Apostles delivered on the subject, whether orally or by writing ; but of the former, we have no satisfactory testimony what it was ;

and if we suppose that their teaching was uniformly thus clear and plain, the existence of the Scriptures leaves us but little cause to regret the absence of sufficient testimony as to what they did deliver orally, at least *as far as the fundamentals of faith and practice are concerned.*

These writings are not all occasional productions, written to meet particular errors, and inculcate particular points. The Gospels at least were intended to give us a full account of our Lord's teaching, and of all the great facts which form the Christian faith. And besides these, we have more than twenty Epistles of the Apostles, giving an enlarged account of the same faith.

But all are not sufficient, we are told, to teach us the faith. And we are sent to what? To the monuments accidentally remaining to us of Antiquity, the works of a few antient authors, borne up by chance upon the surface of the stream of time; while thousands have perished equally or better entitled to our respect; and these belonging only to what some might call the prevailing party among Christians, and confessedly, in part, (to what extent we know not,) corrupted and interpolated and supposititious; and from these volumes we are to obtain the meaning of the Holy Scriptures; seeing, forsooth, that these volumes are to be taken as containing within them an infallible representation of the oral teaching of the Apostles; from which alone we can tell what they meant in their writings; or rather what the Holy Spirit meant, when he was professing to teach it in them.

It is at least evident, then, that such a Rule of faith as Dr. Pusey and his party propose to us, can be made use of only by the learned. For, even were these volumes translated into all the languages spoken by Christians, I suppose it will be granted, that such an investigation can only be carried on by learned men. And it would be a rather curious inquiry, by the way, how many there are even among the learned, who are really acquainted with their Rule of faith, if Patristical Tradition forms part of it.

What, then, is the unlearned man to do? The answer

of our opponents is practically this. He is to learn, from his "priest," the "Tradition" delivered in these volumes; and he is to put his faith in the interpretation of the Scriptures so given him, as a divine interpretation, derived from the oral teaching of the Apostles. And if, perchance, he should think the interpretation thus given him, not to be what appears to him the meaning of the Scriptures, he is to put his faith in the interpretation, and not in what appears to him to be God's truth; for such is Mr. Newman's express direction.

I pass on to observe—

II. That *all* the doctrines of the Christian faith are *as* plainly delivered in the Scriptures as, *to our knowledge*, they are *revealed*.

Assuming that the arguments adduced on our last head have been satisfactory, and that the reader is disposed to admit, that all the essential and fundamental points of faith are clearly and plainly delivered in the Scriptures, we have here only to consider the case of those which are not to be classed among the fundamental points of faith.

Now here even Vincent of Lerins seems to hesitate as to making a claim to any well-authenticated report of Apostolical Tradition, anything which can be looked upon as delivering to us with certainty the oral teaching of the Apostles; and our opponents themselves are somewhat self-contradictory in their statements; in some places, making a claim to the possession of testimony of a certain and indubitable kind,<sup>1</sup> and in others, apparently admitting, that we cannot be altogether certain of the correctness of the testimony we possess on these points,<sup>2</sup> though this admission is accompanied with the intimation, that we must "either believe or silently acquiesce in *the whole*" of what the "prophetical Tradition" of the Church (as Mr. Newman calls it) delivers to us.

That on these points much valuable information is to be obtained from the writings of the antient Church, is what I am far from prepared to deny, but, on the contrary, firmly maintain.

<sup>1</sup> See NEWMAN's Lect. p. 299, and KEBLE's Sermon, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> See NEWMAN's Lect. pp. 249 and 300.

But what I ask is, How can you in any case verify a doctrine, or interpretation, or statement, as an Apostolical tradition ?

We have already shown the impossibility of doing so. We have shown that the tests proposed by our opponents are altogether inadequate and nugatory. We have shown that there is no certain and indubitable report of any divine revelation but the Holy Scripture.

However obscure, therefore, any of the less fundamental doctrines or statements of Scripture may be considered to be, there is no plainer report of them than what we find there, that can come to us with any authority to bind the conscience to belief. They are *as* plainly delivered in the Scriptures as, *to our knowledge*, they are *revealed*.

I proceed to show—

III. That the best and only infallible expositor of Scripture is Scripture ; or, in other words, that the best mode of judging of the sense of any passage is by a comparison of it with the testimony of Scripture in other parts ; first, by comparing it with the *context*, with passages *similarly* worded, with such *plain* places of Scripture as can illustrate its meaning, and with all that is stated in Scripture respecting the *subject* treated of ; and secondly, by considering it in connexion with the whole scheme of doctrine clearly revealed in Scripture.

We take it for granted, that we have sufficiently demonstrated, that Patristical Tradition cannot be considered a divine informant. Whatever, then, may be its value as a help to us in obtaining a knowledge of Christian doctrine, it must be placed in a very different rank from that due to an inspired guide. It partakes of the imperfection of human nature. It is mixed with the dross of human imaginations.

Moreover “the things of God knoweth no one but the Spirit of God.” It is not by any peculiar powers of mind or extent of human learning, that the mysteries of God’s word are to be developed. They can be known only *as far as they are revealed*, nor can any powers of man furnish us with a further insight into them than the Divine declarations afford us ; for all beyond that is the offspring of the human imagination.



Nevertheless there is, as experience shows us, a strong inclination in men to be wise above what is written; to attempt to fathom mysteries beyond their reach, and explain fully and without reserve even those more hidden spiritual truths of which the word of God contains only some intimations, and thus bring out a system which shall be complete in all its parts; and in this attempt they are in danger at every step of being led astray by the prejudices of human nature, the bias of preconceived notions, the flights of an erratic imagination. Look at Origen, for instance, who lived at a period when, according to our opponents, the savour of Apostolical oral Tradition was yet fresh in the Church. With human commentators, therefore, we must be always on our guard.

It seems obvious, then, that our first inquiry in the interpretation of Scripture should be, What has God said on this matter elsewhere in Scripture? Is there any other passage in the word of God, that either in the sentiment conveyed, or in the expressions used, is similar to the one before us? Whether the difficulty lies in the precise meaning of the terms used, or in the doctrine intended to be conveyed, there is no mode of solving the difficulty equally efficacious or satisfactory with that of putting together the parallel passages of Scripture, and judging from them, *as a whole*, what is the mind of God in the particular passage under consideration. For here alone we have the infallible records of divine teaching, the mind of the Spirit.

And while we compare any text with the parallel passages, we must remember not to take an *insulated* view of the doctrine which it seems to inculcate, but to contemplate it *in its position* in the great scheme of Scripture doctrine, so as more clearly to see its true form and proportions, and ascertain that our notions of it are such as to give it that harmony with the whole which beyond doubt it possesses.

Such was the course pursued by the Fathers at the Council of Nice. When desirous of accurately describing the divine nature of the Son in opposition to the errors of the Arians, they, as we are told by Athanasius, “collected together out of

“ the Scriptures these words, the brightness, the fountain, and  
 “ the river, and the image of the substance, and that expression,  
 “ ‘ In thy light shall we see light,’ and that, ‘ I and my Father  
 “ are one ;’ and then at last they wrote, more plainly and com-  
 “ pendiously, that the Son was consubstantial with the Father,  
 “ for all the previous expressions have this meaning.”<sup>1</sup>

This is precisely an exemplification of that for which we are here contending. The views of the Nicene Fathers were not derived (as those of the heretics were, and almost always are,) from one or two insulated passages of Scripture, still less from Patristical Tradition, but from a general consideration of the *whole* testimony of Scripture upon the point; and from this they deduced the faith, and interpreted each particular passage.

This, indeed, is a common rule of interpretation in the case of other works, especially those that have come down to us from a remote period. There are often particular trains of thought, and particular modes of expression, characteristic of particular authors; and there is no mode of arriving at the sense of an author so efficient or satisfactory, as that of judging (if possible) from the collation of similar passages. This rule, then, applies with tenfold force to Scripture, for both as to the author and the subject it is a work altogether *sui generis*. It alone claims to be inspired. It alone was written at the dictation of the Holy Spirit. It alone delivers with authority divine truth.

The light, therefore, which we thus derive is altogether pure; it is divine light. The interpretation, as far as it goes, is an *inspired* interpretation. There is no uncertainty in it; no allowance to be made for human imperfection; no room for exceptions and limitations in our reception of it. We may embrace it with more confidence than we would a friend, whose love and faithfulness it was impossible to call in question; while everything else is to be received only as we would receive one towards whom we are bound to observe caution and reserve. Whatever mistakes may be made here, they are

<sup>1</sup> ATHANAS. Ad Afr. Episc. Epist. § 6. See the passage, vol. iii. c. 10, below.

owing entirely to our own imperfection and prejudices, while with any other guide we have not only our own imperfection and prejudices to contend with, but those of our guide too.

Moreover, whatever weight may be attached by any to what the Fathers have delivered, it is allowed by all, (as we have already observed,) that as it respects the expressions used, Scripture only is sure to be free from error. This again very strongly tends to show, that Scripture is the best interpreter of Scripture. For, other interpreters may make use of words very open to an unorthodox meaning, though well intended by the writer. While opposing one error, they may use words leaning to the opposite, as we have already seen to have been continually the case with the Fathers. But by a comparison of Scripture with itself, we may see the same doctrine expressed in different phrases, and illustrated by various allusions, all emanating from men guided by inspiration, and therefore free from the least error, or inclination to error, if only fairly and honestly taken; and in this variety of phrase and illustration we have an inspired commentary upon the text whose meaning we are seeking.

Further, as it respects the efficiency of this mode of interpretation, we must observe, that all the great doctrines of Christianity (which are those with which we are here principally concerned) lie in a small compass, and were the great subjects of the Apostles' preaching. Having, then, four different accounts of our Lord's life and doctrine, and so many Epistles addressed on different occasions to various Churches, we have these doctrines placed before us in the New Testament in *so many various ways and different phrases*, yet all indited by men guided and preserved from error by the omniscient Spirit, that we have ample scope afforded us for using with success such a mode of interpretation. Not to mention that in the Old Testament also we have an adumbration of much that is of the highest moment in the Christian faith. Hence it is said by Clement of Alexandria, that the Scriptures are to be expounded according to "the ecclesiastical rule," and "the ecclesiastical rule," he tells us, "is the consent and harmony

of the Law and the Prophets with the covenant [or, testament] delivered by the advent of our Lord."<sup>1</sup> And any one who looks into the writings of the earliest Fathers, will see that this comparison of the statements of the two Testaments was one of their chief guides in the interpretation of Scripture.

Nay, we have some remarkable testimonies on this head in the writings of some of the Romanists themselves, when, forgetting their controversies, they gave utterance to their unbiassed judgment.

Thus, Joseph a Costa, the Jesuit, says,—“ Nothing appears “ to me to explain Scripture equally with Scripture itself. “ Therefore the diligent, attentive, and frequent reading and “ meditation, and collation of the Scriptures, always appeared “ to me the very best of all guides for understanding it. For, “ passages of Scripture are best understood from each other, “ when the phraseology and spirit become familiar, so that the “ mind accustomed to the language is easily led to the sense. “ And thus that which is clear explains that which is obscure, “ and that which is certain explains that which is doubtful.”<sup>2</sup> And thus speaks Salmero on the Epistles of St. Paul,—“ The “ best rule for understanding and explaining the more obscure “ passages of Paul is to compare the parallel passages that “ treat of the same subject with one another; for one eluci- “ dates the other.”<sup>3</sup>

Let us test this method of interpreting Scripture by Scripture by an example.

Take the text, “This is my body. . . . this is my blood of the New Testament.” (Matt. xxvi. 26, 28; Mark xiv. 22, 24.)

<sup>1</sup> See the passage in vol. iii. ch. 10, below.

<sup>2</sup> “ Nihil perinde Scripturam mihi videtur aperire atque ipsa Scriptura. Itaque diligens attenta frequensque lectio tum meditatio et collatio Scripturarum, omnium summa regula ad intelligendum mihi semper est visa. Nam ex aliis Scripturis aliæ optime intelliguntur, tum [cum] phrasis ipsa et spiritus familiaris fit, ut assuetis jam sermonibus intelligentia pateat. Itaque obscuram aperta, dubiam certa interpretatur.” JOS. A COSTA. De Christo revelato, lib. iii. c. 21. ed. Rom. 1590. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> “ Optima illa regula est ad obscuriores Pauli locos intelligendos et explicandos, si loci similes qui de eadem re edisserunt inter se conferantur, nam unus solet alterum illustrare.” SALM. Comm. in Ep. Paul. lib. i. disp. 10. See his Comment. in Nov. Test. Col. Agripp. 1612 et seq. tom. xiii. p. 38.



Our opponents would here send us to the Fathers, painfully to track out in their works the language which they have used respecting the Eucharist, and ascertain from that source whether the Romanists interpret these words rightly or not. Now it will not be denied, that the Romanists pretend to make out a case from the Fathers in favour of their view. So that at once we are met with the difficulty of having to decide between the claims of the Romanists and Protestants to Tradition, while men in general are obliged to take the representations of both sides on trust, being unable to search through hundreds of volumes to ascertain for themselves what is the real state of the case. And if we *do* make the search, most men would find themselves, through the obscurities, contradictions, and exaggerated statements of the Fathers, involved in a complete labyrinth, and continually in need of a guide to direct them. I would be understood, indeed, distinctly and firmly to maintain, that the argument from Antiquity is, to those who are able rightly to estimate the evidence upon which it is founded, undeniably against the Romish doctrine in this matter. But at the same time, from the hyperbolical language and ambiguous terms which *some* of the Fathers have admitted, it is an inquiry which might considerably perplex and embarrass an ordinary reader; nor can it be denied, that their injudicious language on this subject is calculated to lead even more learned readers, predisposed in favour of the doctrine, to conclude that it has at least respectable Patristical testimony in its favour.

But now let the weary inquirer, who perhaps has lost his way in this trackless desert, (and let him be an unlearned one if you please,) turn to the pages of Scripture. His first question (staggered as he must naturally be with the notion that the bread and wine he receives at the eucharist are the natural and corporeal body and blood of Christ) will be, *Must* these words be thus understood? Are such expressions never used figuratively in Scripture? He finds the following passages;—“I am the door of the sheep.” (John x. 7.) “I am the true vine.” (John xv. 1.) “They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, *and that rock was Christ.*” (1 Cor. x. 4.) He

sees, then, that such expressions are at least sometimes used in Scripture figuratively, and that the word "is," may mean "bears the character of," or, "represents," or, "is figuratively." He looks to the context, and he finds that, *after* the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord said;—"This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of **THIS FRUIT OF THE VINE** (τούτου τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου) until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." (Matt. xxvi. 28, 29.) And again, in Mark,—*"This is my blood. . . . I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until,"* &c. (Mark xiv. 25.) Then, saith our unlearned inquirer, it is still *"the fruit of the vine"* after consecration, for our Lord himself calls it so after he had given his disciples the cup, and pronounced the words, "This is my blood."

I know not why our unlearned inquirer should be *compelled* to proceed any further in his investigation, but if he is desirous of doing so, he will next take the parallel passages, and he finds that the expressions used by Luke and St. Paul are, "This is my body," and, "This cup is *the New Testament in my blood.*" (Luke xxii. 20; and 1 Cor. xi. 25.) Now either both of these expressions must be understood literally, or both figuratively; and seeing that no one supposes that the cup, or that which is in it, is changed into a testament, neither is the bread changed into the body of Christ. In the latter words, indeed, there is evidently a double figure, the cup being put for that which it contains. And further, in the latter passage the bread and wine are three times over said to be bread and wine *after* consecration. "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup," &c.; "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup," &c.; "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." (vv. 26—28.)

And the further he carries his search, the more will he find this view of the matter confirmed. For instance, let him compare the text, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life." (John vi. 54.) Now if this does not

refer to the eucharist, (as many think,) then it is evident, that we may eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood by an act of the soul, unaccompanied by any corporal act; but if it does refer to the eucharist, then that it is a spiritual eating and drinking, and not a corporal, is evident, because many partake of the bread and wine in the eucharist who have not eternal life. And so, on the same occasion on which our Lord inculcated the necessity of thus eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he shows the figurative character of his words when he says, "He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." (ver. 35.)

Lastly, let him view this passage as it stands connected with the general scheme of Scripture-doctrine upon the subject. The object for which we "eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood," is that we may possess that life which he came to bestow upon us. What, then, is the testimony of Scripture as to the purpose of Christ's coming, the nature of the life we derive from him, and the mode in which we become partakers of it?

Scripture tells us, that all mankind are in a state of spiritual death; "dead in trespasses and sins;" (Eph. ii. 1;) dead, as under God's wrath and condemnation; dead, as living in the love and practice of sin; for "she that liveth in pleasure," says the Apostle, "is dead while she liveth." (1 Tim. v. 6.)

From this spiritual death it tells us that Christ came to rescue us; and the life which he brings is spiritual life, consisting in (1) the pardon of our sins; for, "you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with Christ, *having forgiven you all trespasses,*" (Col. ii. 13;) and (2) a renewal of the soul, for, we are "created in Christ Jesus unto good works," (Eph. ii. 10,) and "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," (2 Cor. v. 17,) "renewed in the spirit of his mind," and "created in righteousness and true holiness." (Eph. iv. 23, 24.)

But this spiritual life, consisting of pardon and reconciliation with God, and a renewal to a life of holiness, was obtained for us, Scripture tells us, by the offering of the flesh and blood

of Christ upon the cross. For, "we have redemption through his blood." (Eph. i. 7.) "When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son." (Rom. v. 10.) "He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh, through death." (Col. i. 21, 22.) "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." (Tit. ii. 14.) So that the flesh and blood of Christ, offered upon the cross, procured for men these blessings.

Hence we have at once a strong confirmatory argument, that, seeing it is spiritual life, the life of the soul, for which Christ came and was offered, his flesh and blood can be food only in a spiritual manner, being food for the nourishment of the soul.

But let us further observe, how Scripture itself tells us, that we obtain these blessings, purchased by Christ's death. It is by *faith in that sacrifice* as the atonement for our sins. Jesus Christ "God has set forth to be a propitiation, *through faith in his blood*, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins," &c. (Rom. iii. 25.) And, saith our Lord, "He that believeth on me, hath everlasting life." (John vi. 47.) Therefore the flesh and blood of Christ offered upon the cross, become life to the soul, when we rest upon them by faith, as the foundation of our hopes before God.

Hence the flesh and blood of Christ become, by faith, a restorative to the soul, giving it spiritual life and health.

And to the faithful, taking the bread and wine in a believing and thankful remembrance of Christ's death, the flesh and blood of Christ, represented by the bread and wine, are *verily and indeed* food to their souls; food truly received by them in a spiritual manner, and effectual to the nourishment of their souls. For, "he that eateth me, even he shall live by me." (ver. 57.) "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." (ver. 55.) As our Church expresses it, "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by *the faithful* in the Lord's Supper;" (Catech.) and by "the faithful" *only*; for, "the body of Christ is given, taken, and



“eaten in the Supper *only after an heavenly and spiritual manner*; and the *mean* whereby the body of Christ is received “and eaten in the Supper, is *faith*.” (Art. 28.) And he only who thus, i. e. by faith, eats the flesh, and drinks the blood of Christ, can possess spiritual life. For, saith our Lord, “*Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*” (John vi. 53.)

And our Lord’s observations in this chapter (John vi.) show us, as we have already observed, that there may be such an eating and drinking, by faith only, without the external symbols. And even Romanists themselves confess, that when our Lord speaks in this chapter of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he means “*faith in his death.*”<sup>1</sup>

And this our Church teaches us, in her Office for the communion of the sick, in these words;—“If a man, either by “reason of extremity of sickness, or &c., or any other just “impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ’s body “and blood, the curate shall instruct him, that, if he do truly “repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus “Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed “his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the “benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks “therefore, *he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our “Saviour Christ profitably to his soul’s health, although he do “not receive the sacrament with his mouth.*”

But, doubtless, the effectual operation of this spiritual food upon the soul may be more especially *looked for* in the celebration of that sacramental rite which is an ordinance of Christ’s own appointment for the faithful and thankful commemoration of his death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See CARD. CAIETAN’s Comment. on this passage.

<sup>2</sup> The vehement onslaught made on the above remarks on the Eucharist by the Tractarian Reviewer of the first edition of this work (Brit. Crit. for July 1842. pp. 70—73) needs but little notice from me, because it is merely an argument in defence of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation against the doctrine of our Church as clearly stated in the passages I have given above from her Formularies. I am accused of “rejecting the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist” and maintaining “plain Zuinglianism,” because

Now, there is nothing in all this beyond the power of any man of good common understanding, who will make the Bible his study. And such is the clearness and fulness of the Divine volume, on all important points, that it is sometimes found, (I appeal to the experience of those who have had opportunities of making the observation,) that a poor unlearned cottager, who has been a diligent student of his Bible, *may*

I have said, that "the flesh and blood of Christ offered on the Cross become life to the soul, when we rest upon them by faith as the foundation of our hopes before God," and that there may be a spiritual eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ "by faith only without the external symbols," the very words of our Church in her Office for the Communion of the Sick. And my Reviewer, professing to belong to the Church of England, maintains, that the words "this is my body," are to be understood in their "literal sense." Nay, he is not ashamed to say, "The idea that to a Christian believing all the astounding mysteries which are contained in the doctrine of the Incarnation, the further belief in the Real Presence, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF THE TRIDENTINE DEFINITION, is a serious additional 'tax on his credulity' is not tenable for one moment." (p. 71.)

The only shadows of argument which his review of my statement contains, are these two. First, he observes, "The whole Scriptural idea, e.g. of the union of saints with Christ and with each other, acquires an awful reality through the consideration of the Eucharistic Presence, which will make all the Protestant attempts [so that my reviewer is by his own confession no "Protestant"] to prove that such is really not the Scripture doctrine fall powerless upon the ear." (p. 71.) Upon this I will only remark, that I regret that the writer should have no notion of any other way of obtaining union with Christ but through the corporal eating and drinking of his real flesh and blood. The other argument is, that on the same ground on which we deny the literal sense of "this is my body," may we deny the literal sense of the passages that prove the Divinity of our Lord; an argument taken from the treasury of Rome, and which has been so often refuted by our great divines, that I shall not trouble the reader with another word here upon the point.

But I can quite understand, that there is good ground for one remark made by the Reviewer, namely, that "Protestant arguments will be unavailing against the *Catholic*, who has been TRAINED both to devotional exercises and the *study of Scripture* IN BELIEF OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRESENCE" (p. 73), because it is quite clear, what must be the effect of "Catholic" training upon the mind in preventing it from a simple-hearted and single-eyed reception of the truths of Holy Scripture. And, to my mind, one of the strongest evidences of the unsoundness of the system which the Reviewer upholds in his Article, is the principle which he puts forward as among its foundation-stones, namely, that the mind must be firmly fixed in its belief of what he holds to be the great truths of the Christian faith, before it can see that Holy Scripture delivers them; so much so, that the "accordance" of any of his "truths," "with the Sacred Volume"

have a firmer hold of truth, and a better insight into the genius and doctrines of Christianity, than those who have been labouring for years in the field of theological study.

But the misfortune is, that men will not generally thus study their Bibles. And, no doubt, it must be added, that there are some understandings that need guidance and instruction. Such, also, is the negligence and indifference of men in spiritual things, that they need to have the truth urgently set before them; to have even that information which is accessible to them, and placed within their reach, put, as it were, into their hands, with a call upon them to attend to it.

Here, then, comes in the office of the minister of Christ; and we are thus reminded of an objection sometimes made to the views we have been advocating, and the answer to it.

It is objected,—

If the Scriptures are perspicuous enough to teach the faith, then the ministerial office, and all such helps, are useless; but the latter is inconsistent with the declarations of Scripture and experience, and therefore the former.

Here, though the premises are most true, the conclusion is altogether inconsequent and absurd. The clearness and fullness of the written word to those who can and will make use of it, are far from affecting the value and importance of the labours of the minister of Christ. For, not to mention other duties of his office, such as the ministration of the sacraments, &c., there are, in the first place, children and illiterate persons, who cannot even read, and there are a large number,—must I say the majority?—who *will* not read, to be instructed by him. Further, there is a large number, whose secular engagements are allowed to stand in the way of an earnest and attentive perusal of Scripture, who therefore need to have things plain to the student of Scripture pointed out to them. Above

may not “appear even *probable*, except to him who has *previous sympathy* with that truth, nor *certain*, except to him who has FIRST BELIEVED it.” (p. 56.) Whether “Mr. Goode’s reasoning on the subject is too childish to deserve notice,” or his arguments “as shallow and worthless in defence of the truth which he holds, as in attacking that which he denies,” (pp. 72, 73) I leave to the reader to judge.



all, he has to contend with the corruptions and prejudices of human nature, to induce it to receive the truths of Scripture as there delivered. The negligence, the indifference, the prejudices, the voluntary ignorance of men, require all, and more than all, his energies. It is his to be the diligent prayerful student of the word of God, and point out to men what he finds there. It is his to direct and quicken the researches of his flock into that sacred volume. It is his to point out what is, indeed, accessible to all, by a little attention and study; but which, through indifference and worldly-mindedness, needs to be enforced on their attention.

And in this matter, as far as concerns the articles of faith contained in the Creed, even Thomas Aquinas will teach us better doctrine than our opponents. Speaking of the Creed, he proposes this objection to be solved; "It appears that the articles of the faith are placed improperly in a Creed. For, Holy Scripture is the Rule of Faith, which it is not lawful to add to, or take away from. For it is said, Deut. 4. 'Ye shall not add to the word which I speak unto you; neither shall ye take away from it.' Therefore it was unlawful to constitute any Creed a Rule of faith, after the Holy Scripture was published." To this he replies as follows;—"To this it is to be answered, that the truth of the faith is contained in Holy Scripture diffusely, and in various ways, and in some obscurely; *so that, to extract the truth of the faith from the Holy Scripture, there is required long study and exercise*; to which all those to whom it is necessary to know the truth of the faith cannot attain, *most of whom being occupied with other business, have no time for study*; and therefore it was necessary, that, from the declarations of the Holy Scripture, something clear should be collected in the way of summary, which might be proposed to all for their belief; which is not, indeed, added to the Holy Scripture, but rather *taken from the Holy Scripture.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Videtur quod inconvenienter articuli fidei in symbolo ponantur. Sacra enim Scriptura est regula fidei, cui nec addere nec subtrahere licet. Dicitur enim Deut. 4. Non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, neque auferetis ab



Here, then, no obscurity is supposed, but what the *study* of the Scriptures is sufficient to remove; and the use of the Church in making the Creed is, not to lay down articles of faith, as from the Scriptures, which men studying the Scriptures could not themselves find there, but to abridge the time and consideration required for a comprehensive view of and search into the Scriptures, in aid of those who are occupied in worldly business.

And if we go beyond the prime articles of the faith, (which, however, be it observed, I do not limit to those in the Apostles' Creed,) who will deny, that there are points, important points, revealed in Scripture, in which all may be much indebted to the labours of those who, at various periods of the

eo. Ergo illicitum fuit aliquod symbolum constituere quasi regulam fidei post sacram Scripturam editam . . . . Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod veritas fidei in sacra Scriptura diffuse continetur, et variis modis, et in quibusdam obscure; ita quod ad eliciendum fidei veritatem ex sacra Scriptura requiritur longum studium et exercitium, ad quod non possunt pervenire omnes illi quibus necessarium est cognoscere fidei veritatem, quorum plerique aliis negotiis occupati studio vacare non possunt; et ideo fuit necessarium, ut ex sententiis sacræ Scripturæ aliquid manifestum summarie colligeretur, quod proponeretur omnibus ad credendum, quod quidem non est additum sacræ Scripturæ, sed potius ex sacra Scriptura sumptum." THOM. AQ. Summ. Theolog. Sec. sec. q. 1. art. 9. ed. Paris. 1631.

It may perhaps be well to notice here the argument drawn from my citation of this passage of Thomas Aquinas by the Tractarian Reviewer just referred to. (p. 100.) He informs his readers, that Mr. Goode has quoted from St. Thomas Aquinas "language as decisive as any he has selected from the Fathers" in favour of "the Protestant principle" respecting the Rule of faith, and consequently that if my inference from such passages holds good, it would prove, that the Protestant principle "existed in full force" in the thirteenth century. The argument would be a valid one, if the statement upon which it rests were true. But any reader who will compare the above passage of Thomas Aquinas, and my inference from it, with the extracts from the Fathers given in ch. 10, and my inferences from them, will at once see, that there is not the slightest foundation for the Reviewer's remark. The passage in Thomas Aquinas only refers, and is only cited as referring, to the articles in the Apostles' Creed, and to the fact that by any ordinary student of Scripture they may be readily found in Scripture. And so far Thomas Aquinas and many others of the Church of Rome have spoken more soundly than the Tractators. But "the Protestant principle," as the Reviewer well knows, goes far beyond this; and far beyond this reach the Patristical statements on the subject which I have quoted in chapter 10.

Church, have, by extensive collation of Scripture with itself, by long and deep thought, study, and meditation, and doubtless, in many cases, by the guidance of the Spirit of God, elucidated the declarations of Scripture? It was well said by Gregory the Great, that there are in Scripture shallows which a lamb might ford, and depths in which an elephant might swim. There are many passages in which we need all the helps we can obtain; and after all, perhaps, notwithstanding "Tradition," must remain uncertain of their meaning.

Nor is it one of the least uses of pastoral teaching, and commentaries upon the Scriptures, to rescue them from the misinterpretations, to which, from various causes, and especially from the corrupt prejudices of the natural mind, they have been subjected; and to the influence of which all are more or less exposed. The mind is often prepossessed at an early age in favour of incorrect views; and most come to the Scriptures rather to confirm their preconceived notions, than to learn the truth from the word of God; and, alas! with minds in which, beyond the erroneous ideas that may have been instilled by others, there are sure to be, more or less, many innate prejudices to operate against the reception of the truth. It is of great importance, then, that the objections, difficulties, and misinterpretations that have been, or are likely to be, raised by the natural mind, should be cleared away, that the truth may be more *easily* seen.

Hence, moreover, the importance of that *confirmation* of the truth, which we derive from the writings of the Fathers, the Creeds, Confessions, and Conciliar determinations of the Early Church. However clearly the truth may be laid down in Scripture, the prejudices of the natural mind, as well as the various discordant interpretations given to it, throw difficulties in the way of its reception. Both these causes will tend to create self-distrust; and the latter to produce perplexity. A consciousness, then, of a liability to be deceived, will naturally and properly make the humble and sincere inquirer after truth anxious to know how others have understood it. He will be desirous of hearing the explanations which may be

offered by those whose opinion he respects; or who, like the early Fathers, might have had some facilities which he does not possess, for learning the right interpretation of Scripture. In a word, he will seek for a confirmation of his view of Scripture truth, from the writings of the best and wisest of those who have, at various times, been received as teachers in the Church; and if he can find no such confirmation in an important article of faith, he will justly be led to question the correctness of his deductions from Scripture in the matter.

Such writings, then, will be of essential service in counteracting the tendencies of corrupt prejudices, in showing the incorrectness of plausible misinterpretations, in pointing out the truth to those who care not to study the Scriptures in order to learn it; and as a continual check upon the presumption and extravagance of the human imagination.

We are far indeed, then, from depreciating the value and importance of ministerial labours, and the treasures of sound instruction to be found in the ecclesiastical writers of former times; but we, at the same time, hold, that when God has spoken, man is responsible to God for believing and acting upon what God appears to him to have said. And we hold that the best expositor of the difficulties of Scripture, is Scripture.

Nor is there any ground for the charge of presumption which our opponents are so fond of making against individuals who assume to themselves the right of judging what is the meaning of Scripture in the fundamental articles of the faith; for they forget, that there is hardly a single point upon which the authority of doctors and councils may not readily be quoted for views directly at variance with each other.

The only other objection of any weight to the view for which we here contend, is the following.

It is said,—

Men differ about the meaning of the Scriptures, or, as it is sometimes stated, The Scriptures do not teach the truth so as



to prevent men from erring ; and therefore they are not clear, not perspicuous enough to teach the faith.

On this plea I have already had occasion to offer some remarks ; but as it is one of the great arguments of our opponents, I feel called upon to revert to it in this its most appropriate place.

If this be a solid objection, then it follows, that nothing can be clear about which men disagree. Are our opponents prepared to venture such an assertion ? Are they prepared to say, that when St. John declares, "The Word was made flesh," the denial of the incarnation by some heretics shows, that Scripture is obscure on this point ; or that when he says, "The Word was God," the denial by some of the divinity of the Son in any sense, shows that Scripture is obscure on that point ? Are they prepared to say, that our Lord did not give clear evidence of his divine mission, because men disagreed about it ?

In fact, our opponents may be confuted in this matter by their own admissions. For they allow, that the sense of Scripture is clear when it is pointed out.<sup>1</sup> But men differ about the meaning as much *after* it has been thus pointed out as *before*. Consequently, according to their own statements, the fact that men differ in such a matter is no proof that the truth is not clearly delivered.

Indeed, if nothing be plain about which men disagree, then it is not plain that Christianity itself came from God, for many do not believe that it did.

A man may shut his eyes at noon-day, and declare that he cannot see the sun ; but this is no proof that it is doubtful whether the sun shines or not, nor does it show, that further light is necessary to enable us to see the sun. And there are various ways in which the eyes of the mind may be shut to the truth, when it is shining upon us in its full strength. They may be shut by the natural corruption of our hearts ; by that worldly-minded spirit that leaves us a prey to the god of this world, who blinds the minds of those who believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should shine unto them ;

<sup>1</sup> NEWMAN'S Lect. on Rom. &c. p. 165.



by prejudices against the truth ; by negligence in availing ourselves of the instruction given ; by apathy and indifference ; and, lastly, they are shut to any saving view of the truth by that self-confidence which makes us depend upon our own strength and imaginations, and neglect earnest prayer for that Divine aid and illumination which can alone enable us to receive the truth *in the love of it*. It is not "Tradition," or any teaching of the Church, that can make men understand and receive the faith. The cause of their non-reception of it is not in the obscurity of the Scriptures, but in the state of their own minds ; and as long as that remains the same, they will warp the Scriptures, and the Fathers too *if they think it worth their while*, to their own views and notions. Is it a remark bordering upon severity to say, that those who misinterpret the Scriptures on *fundamental points*, must be culpable in one or more of the ways above alluded to ? He must have a high idea of human nature who can find fault with the remark on that ground.

The objections commonly made to the views advocated in this chapter may, I believe, be all summed up in the two we have just noticed. With these observations, then, I leave them with the reader.

We shall see, in the following chapters, that in the remarks here made as to the clearness of Scripture in all vital points, and its being the best expositor of itself, I am only taking the ground which has been occupied before me by some of the best and wisest both of antient and modern divines.

Before proceeding further, however, I will here add the testimonies of two learned divines of our Church on the subject.

The first is from Dr. Chaloner, written in the time of James I. It is in reply to the Popish objection, How can we know the sense and meaning of Scripture but by the exposition of the Church ? "I answer," he says, "that although  
" all places of the Scripture are not alike perspicuous, as all  
" are not alike necessary to salvation, yet for the opening of  
" the sense thereof, so far as is behoofefull for his Church,

“ God is the best interpreter of his own meaning, expounding  
 “ outwardly one place of the word by another, and inwardly  
 “ both opening one’s eyes to discern and inclining one’s heart  
 “ to assent unto the truth. As for those who cannot see but  
 “ with the Pope’s spectacles, and *pretend the Scriptures to be*  
 “ *everywhere throughout so overshadowed with a mist that no-*  
 “ *thing presents itself clearly to their view*, I wonder the less at  
 “ them, because their blindness is such that they cannot see  
 “ to serve God without burning tapers and lighted candles at  
 “ noon-day.”<sup>1</sup>

The second is from the pen of one of the most able of our modern prelates, Bishop Horsley, with which I shall conclude this chapter : “ It should be a rule,” he says, “ with every  
 “ one who would read the Holy Scriptures with advantage  
 “ and improvement, to compare every text which may seem  
 “ either important for the doctrine it may contain, or remark-  
 “ able for the turn of the expression, with the parallel passages  
 “ in other parts of Holy Writ ; that is, with the passages in  
 “ which the subject matter is the same, the sense equivalent,  
 “ or the turn of the expression similar . . . . Particular  
 “ diligence should be used in comparing the parallel texts of  
 “ the Old and the New Testaments . . . . It is incredible  
 “ to any one, who has not in some degree made the experi-  
 “ ment, what a proficiency may be made in that knowledge  
 “ which maketh wise unto salvation, by studying the Scriptures  
 “ in this manner, without any other commentary or exposi-  
 “ tion than what the different parts of the Sacred Volume  
 “ mutually furnish for each other. *I will not scruple to assert,*  
 “ *that the most illiterate Christian, if he can but read his English*  
 “ *Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will*  
 “ *not only attain all that practical knowledge which is necessary*  
 “ *to his salvation, but, by God’s blessing, he will become learned*  
 “ *in everything relating to his religion in such a degree, that he*  
 “ *will not be liable to be misled either by the refined arguments,*  
 “ *or by the false assertions, of those who endeavour to engraft*  
 “ *their own opinion upon the oracles of God.* He may safely be

<sup>1</sup> CHALONER’S *Credo ecclesiam*, &c. ed. 1638. pp. 105—7.

“ ignorant of all philosophy, except what is to be learned from  
“ the sacred books, which indeed contain the highest philo-  
“ sophy adapted to the lowest apprehensions. He may safely  
“ remain ignorant of all history, except so much of the  
“ history of the first ages of the Jewish and of the Christian  
“ Church as is to be gathered from the canonical books of  
“ the Old and New Testament. Let him study these in the  
“ manner I recommend, and let him never cease to pray for  
“ the illumination of that Spirit by which these books were  
“ dictated; and the whole compass of abstruse philosophy and  
“ recondite history shall furnish no argument with which the  
“ perverse will of man shall be able to shake *this learned*  
“ *Christian's faith*. The Bible thus studied will indeed prove  
“ to be WHAT WE PROTESTANTS ESTEEM IT, A CERTAIN AND  
“ SUFFICIENT RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE, a helmet of  
“ salvation, which alone may quench the fiery darts of the  
“ wicked”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HORSLEY'S Nine Sermons on the Resurrection and other subjects. Sermon 5.  
In his collected Sermons, ed. 1829. vol. ii. pp. 373—5.

END OF VOL. II.







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